

Martin Dimnik

THE DYNASTY OF CHERNIGOV: 1054-1146

The dynasty of Chernigov was descended from Svyatoslav, the second eldest surviving son of Yaroslav "the Wise." Before his death in 1054 Yaroslav legislated a new form of succession to Kiev and allotted patrimonial domains to his sons. He instructed them and their heirs to abide by his decrees in a spirit of Christian brotherly love. His precepts were obeyed with limited success.

This book examines how faithfully the Svyatoslavichi adhered to Yaroslav's "testament" and how their fortunes suffered when other families broke Yaroslav's precepts. Svyatoslav was the most capable prince of the so-called triumvirate and successfully established political precedents for his heirs. For example, he considered it expedient to seize supreme power by usurping Kiev in order to prevent his descendants from becoming debarred and losing the right to rule in the capital town of Rus'. Nevertheless, after his death his sons lost control of most of his domains including Chernigov, his patrimony. His son, Oleg, devoted much of his life to regaining control of his father's inheritance. The Svyatoslavichi fortunes were revived under Vsevolod, Oleg's eldest son, who successfully usurped Kiev in imitation of his grandfather. For a short period of time he asserted his family's primacy and secured its position as one of the two most powerful dynasties in Rus'.

Svyatoslav and his descendants were men of their day. Their main objective was to protect their dynastic interests as recognized by tradition and defined by princely decrees. To do this in the spirit of Yaroslav's "testament" at all times, however, proved to be an exceptionally difficult challenge.



From the *Izbornik* of 1073, depicting Prince Svyatoslav, his wife
and five sons: Gleb, Oleg, David, Roman and Yaroslav

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THE DYNASTY OF CHERNIGOV
1054-1146

by

MARTIN DIMNIK



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*For J.L.I. Fennell
(† August 1992)
teacher and friend*

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Preface

The book is based on an examination of primary sources. Written documents such as the chronicles of medieval Rus' have served as the main sources for the reconstruction of events that occurred during the period under investigation. However, the information provided by the chronicles often cannot be taken at face value. In attempting to select only the reliable information from them, it has been necessary to keep a number of considerations in mind. For example, not one chronicle copy has survived from the period under investigation. Chronicles written at this time were incorporated into later compilations made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In using information from these later sources, the historian must distinguish between the reports, often biased, made by contemporary chroniclers and those made by later compilers. On occasion, when collating earlier chronicle reports, later scribes corrupted the original text by attempting to make "sense" of it in the light of the world-view of their age. At other times they inadvertently changed the meaning of the original text.

The most valuable chronicle for the early period of our investigation is the so-called Primary Chronicle or the "Tale of Bygone Years" (*Povest' vremennykh let*, abbr. PVL) which has information for the period between the years 852 and 1110. No contemporary copy of the chronicle has survived, but it has been preserved in a number of later compilations. Although the text has been reconstructed from a number of its copies,¹ the reconstructed text has been used sparingly. In our study we have used the texts of the PVL that have been preserved in the three oldest chronicle compilations, namely, the ones commonly referred to as the Laurentian Chronicle, the Hypatian Chronicle, and the First Novgorod Chronicle. The

¹ See, for example, *Povest' vremennykh let, chast' pervaya*, Text i perevod. Text prepared by D. S. Likhachev, translated by D. S. Likhachev and B. A. Romanova, gen. ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts, (M.-L., 1950), and *Povest' vremennykh let, chast' vtoraya*, Prilozheniya. Commentary by D. S. Likhachev, gen. ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts (M.-L., 1950).

first two are published as volumes one and two in the series *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey* (PSRL).²

The Laurentian Chronicle (Lav.)³ was copied in 1377 by the monk Lavrenty from what he referred to as an "old chronicle." It contained information up to the year 1305. The source is of special value because, in addition to having one of the oldest texts of the Primary Chronicle, it has two unique texts. Under the year 1096 it has the so-called "Instruction" (*Pouchenie*) of Vladimir Monomakh, and his letter to Oleg of Chernigov.⁴

The Hypatian Chronicle (Ipat.)⁵ which is the main source of information for southern Rus', was probably compiled towards the end of the thirteenth century. Although it is commonly referred to as the Hypatian Chronicle after its oldest manuscript dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the document is also known as the "South Russian chronicle compilation" (*Yuzhno-russkiy letopisnyy svod*).

The Novgorod First Chronicle (NPL) records, for the most part, local Novgorod events. Two copies of the source have been published: the "older redaction" known as the *Sinodal'nyy spisok*, and the "younger redaction" referred to as the *Komissionnyy spisok*.⁶ The "older redaction" was compiled in the fourteenth century, probably at the court of the archbishop. It records events up to the middle of the fourteenth century and is looked upon as the official Novgorod chronicle. The "younger redaction," compiled in the fifteenth century, has a record of events up to the middle of the fifteenth century.⁷ For the purposes of our investigation, the "younger redaction" has more complete accounts in certain instances.

² *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey*, izdannoe po Vysochayshemu poveleniyu Arkheograficheskoy komissii, 24 vols. (Spb., 1841-1921). After 1921 the series continued to be published by the Akademiya nauk SSSR, vols. 25-38 (M.-L., 1925-1989). The Akademiya nauk SSSR republished some of the early volumes in new editions such as, for example, volumes 1, 2, 4 and 5.

³ "Lavrent'evskaya letopis'," PSRL 1, second edition (L., 1926).

⁴ Lav., cols. 240-52, 252-5. For the text of the "Instruction" see also "Pouchenie Vladimira Monomakha," *A Historical Russian Reader*, ed. John Fennell and Dimitri Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), pp. 52-62.

⁵ "Ipat'evskaya letopis'," PSRL 2, second edition (Spb., 1908); *Litopys rus'kyl (za Ipat'skym spyskom)*, trans. L. Ie. Makhnovets, gen. ed., O. V. Myshanych (K., 1989).

⁶ *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshhego izvodov*, ed. A. N. Nasonov (M.-L., 1950).

⁷ D. S. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie* (M.-L., 1947), pp. 440-4.

Therefore, when quoting from the NPL two references are usually given: one from the "older redaction" and one from the "younger redaction."

For the period under investigation not covered by the Primary Chronicle, that is, most of the first half of the twelfth century, the Ipat., Lav., and NPL continued to serve as the basis for our investigation. However, all the chronicles in the series PSRL were also examined. Many of these are compilations from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries which, in most cases, repeat the information of the chronicles mentioned above. On occasion, they contain unique items of information and attention is drawn to them.

It is difficult to determine from what sources later compilers obtained the new items of information. However, it has been suggested that two chronicles, the Sofiyskiy First (Sof. I) and the Novgorod Fourth (Novg. 4), probably used the hypothetical "svod of 1448."⁸ Another hypothetical source known as the "svod of Feodosy and Filipp,"⁹ was used by a different group of chronicles; these included the Moscow svod of 1479 (Mosk.), the Ermolinskiy (Erm.), L'vov (L'vov.), and Nikon (Nikon.) Chronicles.¹⁰

Another chronicle, the "Gustinskaya letopis'" (Gust.), a seventeenth-century source, belonged to the Gustinskiy Monastery in the district of Poltava southeast of Kiev. In 1843, the chronicle was published as a supplement to the Hypatian Chronicle in PSRL, but it was not included in 1908 when the Hypatian Chronicle was republished.¹¹ The Gust. is useful because the first part of its text is like that of the Hypatian Chronicle. A comparison of the two helps us to determine the correct dates of events.

Of special interest is the so-called "Radziwill or Konigsberg Chroni-

⁸ "Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis' (vypusk pervyy)," PSRL 5, second edition (L., 1925); "Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis'," PSRL 4 (P., 1915). On the "svod of 1448" see Ya. S. Lur'e, "Obshcherusskiy svod-protograf Sofiyskoy I i Novgorodskoy IV letopisey," TODRL, vol. 28 (1974), pp. 114-39.

⁹ A. N. Nasonov, "Moskovskiy svod 1479 i ego yuzhnorusskiy istochnik," *Problemy istochnikovedeniya*, vol. 9 (M., 1961), pp. 350-85; J. L. I. Fennell, "The Tver' Uprising of 1327: a Study of the Sources," *Jahrbucher fur Geschichte Osteuropas*, Heft 2 (1967), pp. 168 ff. For a more detailed bibliography see M. Dimnik, *Mikhail, Prince of Chernigov and Grand Prince of Kiev 1224-1246* (Toronto, 1981), pp. ix-x.

¹⁰ "Moskovskiy letopisnyy svod kontsa XV veka," PSRL 25 (M.-L., 1949); "Ermolinskaya letopis'," PSRL 23 (Spb., 1910); "L'vovskaya letopis'," PSRL 20 (Spb., 1910); and "Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'," PSRL 9 (Spb., 1862).

¹¹ "Gustinskaya letopis'," PSRL 2 (Spb., 1843).

cle"¹² written towards the end of the fifteenth century which contains 617 miniatures. Although these were drawn at a later date it has been suggested that a number of them are direct copies of older, probably contemporary, miniatures.

Non-chronicle texts also provide us with valuable information. The addendum to the so-called *Ostromir Gospel*, written between the years 1056 and 1057, has information concerning Prince Izyaslav's rule in Novgorod.¹³ Some fifteen years later a miscellany known as *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda* was compiled for Prince Svyatoslav of Kiev.¹⁴ Its texts which are for the most part religious or literary in nature offer no useful evidence for our study, but the frontispiece is extremely important. It is a portrait of the prince's family and provides valuable evidence for the genealogical history of the dynasty of Chernigov.

The collection known as the *Uspenskiy sbornik XII-XIII vv.* compiled towards the end of the twelfth or at the beginning of the thirteenth century is also significant.¹⁵ In addition to other texts, it contains the "Lives" of saints compiled in Rus' before that time. The most useful for our investigation is the narrative account (*skazanie*) of SS. Boris and Gleb.

Another source is the *Paterik* from the Caves Monastery of Kiev which was compiled during the first third of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ It comprises, in the main, letters written to each other by Bishop Simeon of Vladimir in Suzdalia, and the monk Polycarp from the monastery. The accounts contain useful references to the political and ecclesiastical life of the period under discussion. Finally, a short account known as the *Slovo*

¹² *Radzivilovskaya ili Kenigsbergskaya letopis'*, Komitet Imperatorskago Obshchestva Lyubiteley Drevney Pis'mennosti, CXVIII (Spb., 1902), [photoreproduction]; Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi*, pp. 433-7; O. I. Podobedova, *Miniatury russkikh istoricheskikh rukopisey* (M., 1965).

¹³ A. Vostokov, ed., *Ostromirovo evangelie 1056-57 goda* (Spb., 1843), p. 294; F. Buslaev, ed., *Istoricheskaya khristomatiya tserkovno-slavyanskago i drevne-russkago yazykov* (M., 1861), cols. 1-30.

¹⁴ *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda*: Faksimil'noe izdanie (M., 1983).

¹⁵ *Sbornik XII veka Moskovskago uspenskago sobora*, vypusk pervyy, ed. A. A. Shakhmatov and P. A. Lavrov (M., 1899; photoreproduction by Mouton & Co, The Hague, 1957), and *Uspenskiy sbornik XII-XIII vv.*, ed. S. I. Kotkov (M., 1971).

¹⁶ *Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik*, ed. D. Abramovich (K., 1930) re-edited in *Das Paterikon des Kiever Hohlenklosters*, ed. D. Tschizewskiy (Munich, 1963); *The 'Paterik' of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, trans. M. Heppell, preface by Sir Dimitri Obolensky (Harvard University Press, 1989).

pokhval'noe na prenesenie moshchey Svy. Borisa i Gleba,¹⁷ describes the death and burial of Prince David of Chernigov (d. 1123).

At the beginning of the twelfth century a certain Abbot Daniil, probably from a monastery in Chernigov, visited the Holy Land. He recorded his travels in the account commonly referred to as the *Khozhenie*.¹⁸ It was he who reported that Prince Oleg spent two years of his exile on the island of Rhodes. Daniil also provided useful information concerning the princes of Rus'. A unique source is the so-called Tmutarakan' Stone (*Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*) which has inscribed on it the date on which Prince Gleb (d. 1078) measured the distance between Tmutarakan' and the Straits of Kerch.¹⁹ The epic poem "The Lay of Igor's Campaign" (*Slovo o polku Igoreve*) has also been cited. However, it is used more as a reflection of popular tradition than as a reliable historical source.²⁰

Special attention must also be drawn to the Lyubech *sinodik* (*Lyubetskiy sinodik*). This contains, in the main, a list of the deceased princes of Chernigov to be commemorated by the monks at the Monastery of St. Anthony in Lyubech. R. V. Zotov compared the list of names in this source to the princes known from the chronicles. In this way he established not only the identities but also the baptismal and monastic names of many princes.²¹ His work was of special importance in helping us to determine the identities of princes for the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century.

V. N. Tatishchev's *Istoriya Rossiyskaya* is, in the main, an unreliable source of chronicle information and has been cited sparingly. Tatishchev

¹⁷ *Slovo pokhval'noe na prenesenie moshchey Svy. Borisa i Gleba*, ed. Khr. Loparev, in *Pamyatniki drevney pis'mennosti*, XC VIII (Spb., 1894).

¹⁸ *Igumen Daniil Khozhenie* [sic], ed. K. D. Seeman (Munich, 1970).

¹⁹ A. A. Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'* (M., 1979).

²⁰ *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, ed., V. P. Adrianova-Peretts (M., 1950); "Slovo o pl'ku Igoreve, Igorya syna Svyat'slavlya, vnuka Ol'gova," in *A Historical Russian Reader*, ed. John Fennell and Dimitri Obolensky (Oxford, 1969), pp. 63-72. Some scholars argue, incorrectly in our view, that the "Slovo" is not a work of the twelfth century; see, for example, J. L. I. Fennell, "The Recent Controversy in the Soviet Union over the Authenticity of the *Slovo*," in *Russia, Essays in History and Literature*, ed. L. H. Legters (Leiden, 1972), pp. 1-17.

²¹ *O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o chernigovskom knyazhestve v Tatarskoe vremya* (Spb., 1892); also published in *Letopis' zanyatii arkhograficheskoy komissii 1882-84 gg., vypusk devyatyy* (Spb., 1893); see also Dimnik, *Mikhail*, p. 4.

produced two redactions of the work. The first, seemingly the more reliable, is found in volume four of his *Istoriya Rossiyskaya*. He had access to sources which have since been lost and was therefore able to incorporate unique information into his work. The second redaction, in volume two, was a revision of the first. In this version he translated the chronicle accounts into his contemporary language and frequently changed the original meaning. He also interpolated his own comments into the text without identifying them as such. Therefore, for the purposes of our investigation, Tatishchev's first redaction is considered to be the more reliable.²²

In the use of chronicles, special attention must be drawn to the nature of dating. For the period under investigation the chronicles use two systems of dating: either the "March Year" (*martovskiy*) or the "Ultra-March Year" (*ul'tramartovskiy*). Both years begin with March. When the chronicler uses the "March Year," the correct January year is obtained by taking the chronicle date, for example 6562 (the date from the creation of the world according to the Byzantine calendar), and subtracting 5508 (the year before Christ in which, according to Byzantine reckoning, the world was created). If the chronicler is using the "Ultra-March Year," one subtracts 5509 in order to obtain the correct January year.²³

The historian must determine correctly which system the chronicler is using. Indeed, in later compilations entries under the same year are often made under both systems because the compiler took the entries from different chronicles. Fortunately for our investigation, the annual entries in the Primary Chronicle (i.e., up to around 1110) are for the most part made under the "March Year." In attempting to determine the correct dates in the *Ipat.*, *Lav.*, and *NPL* for the events after 1110, N.G. Berezhev's study was used as a guide.²⁴

In addition to written accounts other primary sources have been used. These include archaeological, architectural, artistic, sphragistic, and numismatic evidence. There is a plethora of published archaeological

²² *Istoriya Rossiyskaya*, 7 vols. (M.-L., 1962-68). A. A. Shakhmatov, "K voprosu o kriticheskom izdanii Istorii Rossiyskoy V.N. Tatishcheva," *Dela i Dni*, Kniga pervaya (Peterburg, 1920), pp. 80-95; see also Dimnik, *Mikhail*, pp. xiii-xiv.

²³ For a more detailed examination of dating, see Dimnik, *Mikhail*, pp. x-xii; see Chart Illustrating Year 6562 (1054) on p. xvii.

²⁴ *Khronologiya russkogo letopisaniya* (M., 1963).

Ultra-March Year	$6562 - 5509 = 1053$ $- 5508$ $= 1054$	$6563 - 5509 = 1054$ $- 5508$ $= 1055$					
Byzantine September Year	$6562 - 5508 = 1054$ $- 5509$ $= 1053$	$6562 - 5508 = 1054$ $- 5509$ $= 1054$	$6563 - 5508 = 1055$ $- 5509$ $= 1054$				
March Year	$6561 - 5508 = 1053$ $- 5507$ $= 1054$	$6562 - 5508 = 1054$ $- 5507$ $= 1055$					
January Year	1053	1054	1055				
	January	January	January	March	September	March	September

CHART ILLUSTRATING YEAR 6562 (1054)
(Adapted from Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 12.)

material concerning medieval sites. Much of it is useful for the study of social, ethnic, and material history, but it is more difficult to apply it to political history. Similarly, historians of architecture and art examine churches and frescoes as objects of architecture and art rather than as documents of political history.

One faces additional problems in using the reports of archaeologists and historians of architecture. For example, not only do different historians of architecture often disagree in their conclusions, but, what is even more disconcerting, the same historian will, in the light of new evidence, be forced to change his or her observations from one publication to the next. It has also been difficult to keep abreast with the latest findings in these fields because the reports of these specialists are often written in local publications which are extremely difficult to obtain in the West. Despite these hurdles, we have been able to derive much useful information from non-literary primary sources.

Wherever possible, we have also visited the sites which are of special significance to our research. This has enabled us to acquire firsthand knowledge of such towns as Kiev, Chernigov, Vyshgorod, Kanev, Novgorod, and others. Important buildings were also examined: for example, the Holy Saviour Cathedral, the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris, the Church of St. Elias, and the adjacent caves in Chernigov; the Cathedral of St. Sofia, the Caves Monastery, the Church of St. Cyril, and others in Kiev.

The use of seals and coins as primary sources has proven to be the most problematic. Specialists often disagree when attributing these objects to specific princes. There is a lack of consensus among them concerning the personal symbols used by princes and concerning the Christian names of the individuals who issued the seals and coins. The princes of Chernigov whom investigators claim to have identified are singled out in our study. However, the information must be used with great caution because much work remains to be done in these areas.

When writing a book in English on the history of Rus', problems arise with place names, proper names, and titles. Throughout the book the term Rus' has been used to designate the so-called Kievan State. In its narrowest sense, Rus' included the domains Yaroslav "the Wise" bequeathed to his three eldest sons: Kiev, Turov, Chernigov, and Pereyaslavl'. When transposing place names and proper names from the chronicles these have been transliterated, for the most part, from the forms found in the indexes of the relevant chronicles (e.g., Igor', Pereyaslavl'). At times chroniclers spell the same place-name differently; when the variation is

great or significant the variant is noted (e.g., Yur'ev, Gurg'ev).

For convenience sake, the practice of the chroniclers has been adopted when referring to members of this or that princely family by using the collective form of the progenitor's patronymic: for example, the "Svyatoslavichi" are the sons of Svyatoslav of Chernigov (d. 1076), the "Ol'govichi" those of his son Oleg (d. 1115). As for Greek, Polish, German, and other foreign names, the transliteration systems found in *The Cambridge Medieval History* have been followed. However, diacritical marks have not been used (e.g., Radziwill, Konigsberg). Exceptions to this practice are explained in the text.

For the transliteration of Russian words the "British" system of Latinisation given in *The Slavonic and East European Review* has been used.²⁵ However, a few minor modifications have been made to this system. For example, e and ě are always transliterated as e (thus "ego" and not "yego"); the endings -yy or -iy are rendered -y in first names (e.g., Yury, Dmitry) and in modern surnames (e.g., Zakrevsky, Vysotsky); however, in adjectival endings -yy and -iy are used (e.g., Pecherskyy, Vizantiyskiy); in the spelling of feminine names ending in -iya, the form -ia is used (e.g., Maria). For the transliteration of Ukrainian words the system adopted by the Division of Cataloging and Classification of the American Library Association has been used.²⁶

In footnotes, the first reference to a work is given in its complete form. Subsequent references to it are made in an abbreviated manner normally consisting of the author's name, a key word or words from the title, and page references. The footnotes are located at the bottom of each page. It is hoped the book has been written in such a manner that the reader can go through the main text without having to consult the footnotes. The latter are intended to be aids for specialists or for those investigating particular questions. Abbreviations have also been used; these are explained in the list of abbreviations.

Five maps have been appended to the end of the book to illustrate the territorial holdings of the princes of Chernigov at different stages of their history. Five genealogical tables have also been included; these list

²⁵ W. K. Matthews, "The Latinisation of Cyrillic Characters," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 30, no. 75 (June, 1952), pp. 531-48.

²⁶ A. L. A. *Cataloging Rules for Author and Title Entries*, prepared by the Division of Cataloging and Classification of the American Library Association, second edition, ed. C. Beetle (Chicago, 1949), p. 246.

the families of princes discussed in the monograph. A number of illustrations relevant to our investigation have also been included. The author begs the reader's forgiveness for the poor quality of some of the photographs. Many of these were taken by the author under less than ideal conditions. Even in their poor state, however, they have academic value. The book also contains a glossary, a list of abbreviations, a selected bibliography, and indexes.

Abbreviations

Baum.	N. de Baumgarten, <i>Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides Russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle</i> (<i>Orientalia Christiana</i>), vol. ix, no. 35 (Rome, 1927).
Baum. 2	N. de Baumgarten, <i>Généalogies des branches régnautes des Rurikides du XIIIe au XVIe siècle</i> (<i>Orientalia Christiana</i>), vol. xxxv, no. 94 (Rome, 1934).
Chteniya	<i>Chteniya v Imperatorskom Obshchestve istorii i drevnostey Rossiyskikh pri Moskovskom universitete.</i>
col.	column
Erm.	"Ermolinskaya letopis'," PSRL 23 (Spb., 1910).
Gust.	"Gustinskaya letopis'," PSRL 2 (Spb., 1843).
IKDR	<i>Istoriya kul'tury drevney Rusi, Domongol'skiy period: I "Material'naya kul'tura,"</i> eds. N. N. Voronin et al. (M.-L., 1948).
Ipat.	"Ipat'evskaya letopis'," PSRL 2, second edition (Spb., 1908).
Izvestiya	<i>Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovestnosti Imperatorskoy Akademii nauk</i>
K	Kiev
Kholm.	"Kholmogorskaya letopis'," PSRL 33 (L., 1977).
KSDPIIA	Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh instituta arkheologii (M.).
KSDPIIMK	Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh instituta istorii material'noy kul'tury (M.).
KZZR	<i>Kiev i zapadnye zemli Rusi v IX-XIII vv.,</i> eds. L. L. Pobol' et al., (Minsk, 1982).
L	Leningrad

Lav.	"Lavrent'evskaya letopis'," PSRL 1, second edition (L., 1926).
L'vov.	"L'vovskaya letopis'," PSRL 20 (Spb., 1910).
M.	Moscow
Maz.	"Mazurinskiy letopisets," PSRL 31 (M., 1968).
Mosk.	"Moskovskiy letopisnyy svod kontsa XV veka," PSRL 25 (M.-L., 1949).
Nikon.	"Patriarshaya ili Nikonovskaya letopis'," PSRL 9 (Spb., 1862).
Nikonian Chronicle 1	<i>The Nikonian Chronicle, From the Beginning to the Year 1132</i> (volume one), edited, introduced and annotated by S.A. Zenkovsky, trans. by S.A. and B.J. Zenkovsky (Princeton, N.J., 1984).
Nikonian Chronicle 2	<i>The Nikonian Chronicle, From the Year 1132-1240</i> (volume two), edited, introduced and annotated by S.A. Zenkovsky, trans. by S.A. and B.J. Zenkovsky (Princeton, N.J., 1984).
Novg. 4	"Novgorodskaya chetvertaya letopis'," PSRL 4 (P., 1915).
NPL	<i>Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov</i> , ed. A.N. Nasonov (M.-L., 1950).
P.	Petrograd
Paterik Pechersky	<i>Kievo-Pecher'skiy paterik</i> , ed. D. Abramovich (K., 1930); re-edited in <i>Das Paterikon des Kiever Hohlenklosters</i> , ed. D. Tschizewskiy (Munich, 1963).
PC	<i>The Russian Primary Chronicle (Laurentian Text)</i> , trans. and ed. by S.H. Cross and O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).
Pisk.	"Piskarevskiy letopisets," PSRL 34 (M., 1978).
PVL	<i>Povest' vremennykh let</i> (The Tale of Bygone Years)
PSRL	<i>Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisey</i> , vols 1-38 (Spb., L., M., 1841-1989).

Rapov	O. M. Rapov, <i>Knyazheskie vladeniya na Rusi v X-pervoy polovine XIII v.</i> (M., 1977).
s.a.	<i>sub anno</i> (under the year)
Semenov	P. P. Semenov, <i>Geograficheskoye-statisticheskoye slovar' Rossiyskoy imperii</i> (Spb.).
Skazanie	<i>Skazanie o Borise i Glebe</i> , pt I: Nauchno-spravochnyy apparat izdaniya. pt II: Faksimil'noe vosproizvedenie zhitiynyykh povestey iz Sil'vestrovskogo sbornika (2-ya polovina XIV veka), ed. E. B. Pokrovskaya (M., 1985).
Slovar' I	<i>Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevney Rusi</i> , vyp. I (XI-pervaya polovina XIV v.), ed. D. S. Likhachev (L., 1987).
Slovar' II, 2	<i>Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti drevney Rusi</i> , vyp. II (vtoraya polovina XIV-XVI v.), chast' 2 L-Ya, ed. D. S. Likhachev (L., 1989).
Sof. I	"Sofiyskaya pervaya letopis' (vypusk pervyy)," PSRL 5, second edition (L., 1925).
Spb.	St. Petersburg
SSS	<i>Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich</i> , (Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, 1961-82).
Tat.	V. N. Tatishchev, <i>Istoriya Rossiyskaya</i> , 7 vols (M.-L., 1962-68).
Tip.	"Tipografskaya letopis'," PSRL 24 (P., 1921).
TL	<i>Troitskaya letopis', rekonstruktsiya teksta</i> , ed. M. D. Priselkov (M.-L., 1950).
TODRL	<i>Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoy literatury</i> , A.N. SSSR, Institut russkoy literatury (Pushkinskiy Dom, M.-L.).
Tver.	"Tverskaya letopis'," PSRL 15 (Spb., 1863).
Uchenye zapiski	<i>Uchenye zapiski Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Seriya istoricheskikh nauk</i>
UIZh	Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal (K.).
Uspenskiy sbornik	<i>Uspenskiy sbornik XII-XIII vv.</i> , ed. S. I. Kotkov (M., 1971).
VID	<i>Vspomogatel'nye istoricheskie distsipliny</i> (L.)

Vlad.	"Vladimirskiy letopisets," PSRL 30 (M., 1965).
Vosk.	"Voskresenskaya letopis'," PSRL 7 (Spb., 1856).
Vremennik	<i>Vremennik Imperatorskago Moskovskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostey rossiyskikh</i>
Zh.M.N.P.	<i>Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya</i> (Spb.).
Zotov	R. V. Zotov, <i>O Chernigovskikh knyazyakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o chernigovskom knyazhestve v Tatarskoe vremya</i> (Spb., 1892).

Introduction

A. HISTORIOGRAPHY

This work was at first intended to be a study of the dynasty of Chernigov from 1054 (the death of Yaroslav "the Wise") to 1246 (the death of Mikhail of Chernigov). However, as research progressed and more and more material became available it seemed inadvisable to attempt an examination of such a large period in one volume. The study was therefore broken up into two parts, the first of which is this monograph. It begins with the reign of Svyatoslav (d. 1076) the progenitor of the Chernigov dynasty and ends with the death of his grandson Vsevolod (d. 1146). His death presents a logical terminus for our investigation because he successfully challenged the Monomashichi control of Kiev and established his family, the Ol'govichi, as the rival dynasty to the House of Monomakh.

The earliest reports concerning the dynasty of Chernigov are given by the chronicles. However, they are far from adequate because no chronicle written in Chernigov has survived. An important reason for this is that the Svyatoslavichi were eliminated as a political force after the Tatar invasion of Rus'. At that time the descendants of Vladimir Monomakh emerged victorious. When they became supreme rulers of Muscovy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries their scribes produced new chronicle compilations.

In assembling information to record the history of their masters, the compilers ignored or discarded information concerning the princes of Chernigov. Their compilations, which are the ones that have come down to us, contain fleeting and often deprecatory references to the Svyatoslavichi because the latter had been the main rivals to the ancestors of the Muscovite princes. A number of later compilations which are more regional in nature (viz. from Novgorod, Pskov, Galicia) have also been preserved. Their information is mostly of local interest. Therefore, the task of the historian is to glean from later and often anti-Chernigov sources whatever information he can concerning the family which, before the Tatar invasion, was one of the two ruling dynasties of Rus'.

Historians' views of events in Rus' have been influenced, and at times dictated, by the chronicle information handed down by Muscovite compilers. As a result, even though the princes of Chernigov were not vanquished until the middle of the thirteenth century, many investigators relegate them to a place of minor importance even before that time. General histories written up to the end of the nineteenth century are good examples of the relatively insignificant role their authors attributed to the dynasty of Chernigov. These works are in large part paraphrases of chronicle accounts. Their authors made no serious attempt to analyze the nature of Svyatoslavichi policies as a whole or the nature of the family's political structure.¹

During the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of monographs appeared devoted to the examination of individual principalities. Two such works examined the history of the Chernigov land.² These were pioneering studies because for the first time the authors collected all the available chronicle information concerning the activities of the Svyatoslavichi. However, aside from collating the chronicle reports, they made no significant contributions to our knowledge of the dynasty. In the main, the authors reiterated the observations made by the writers of the general histories.

Another valuable nineteenth-century study of the princes of Chernigov is different in nature. The genealogist R. V. Zotov set himself the task of establishing the identities of the princes of Chernigov from the time of the Tatar invasion to the year 1362 when Ol'gerd of Lithuania occupied southern Rus'. In order to do this correctly he found it necessary to ascertain the identities of all the princes of Chernigov from the time of Yaroslav "the Wise." Zotov's study is of special value because he obtained his information not only from chronicle sources, but also from the then little

¹ See, for example, M. Pogodin, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do mongol'skogo lga*, vol. 1 (M., 1872); N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskago*, vol. 2 (Spb., 1892; Slavistic Printings and Reprintings 189/2, The Hague: Mouton, 1969); I. Belyaev, *Razskazy iz russkoy istorii*, bk I, second edition (M., 1865); M. Shcherbatov, *Istoriya Rossiyskaya ot drevneyshikh vremen*, vol. 2, "Ot nachala tsarstvovaniya Izyaslava Yaroslavicha do pokoreniya Rossii Tatarami" (Spb., 1771); S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, 29 vols in 15 bks (M., 1962-1966); and others.

² P. V. Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli do poloviny XIV stoletiya* (K., 1881), and D. Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli do poloviny XIV stoletiya* (K., 1882).

known Lyubech *sinodik*.³ Since his main objective was to establish correct princely genealogies, he neglected to analyze their policies and political activities.

In 1891, the Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky provided the most useful study on the political activities of the princes of Chernigov made to his day.⁴ However, his chief task was to examine the history of Kiev and its lands so that he investigated the activities of the Svyatoslavichi only insofar as they effected Kiev. At a later date, he produced another analysis of the family's activities in his history of Ukraine-Rus'.⁵ The work was a general history and he again failed to investigate adequately the House of Chernigov.

Soviet historians have on the whole ignored the history of the princes of Chernigov. Similar to their nineteenth-century predecessors, they devoted their investigations to the dynasties of Rostov-Suzdal' in the northeast and Galicia in the southwest. The little importance they attribute to the principality of Chernigov is supported by the evidence that no monograph has been written on the subject for almost a century.

However, there were dissenting voices. A. N. Nasonov was one of the first historians to challenge the traditional view, arguing that in the twelfth century two of the strongest principalities in Rus', Chernigov and Rostov-Suzdal', initiated a struggle for supremacy in Rus'.⁶ The most recent study on the Chernigov domain was written by A. K. Zaytsev who presented a comprehensive analysis of the twelfth-century territorial holdings of the Svyatoslavichi. In his view the dynasty was a powerful political force during this period.⁷ Another useful investigation, but one which unfortunately remains unpublished, is V. I. Mezentsev's doctoral disser-

³ Zotov.

⁴ *Ocherk istorii Kievskoy zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV stoletiya* (K., 1891).

⁵ *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, 9 vols., second edition (L'vov, 1904-31).

⁶ "Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo," *Ocherki istorii SSSR: period feodalizma IX-XV vv.*, part. 1, gen. ed. B. D. Grekov (M., 1953), pp. 320-34.

⁷ "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," *Drevnerusskie knyazhestva X-XIII vv.*, ed. L. G. Beskrovnnyy (Moscow, 1975), pp. 57-117; see also A. R. Gushchin, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v XI - pervoy treti XIII vv.: posledovatel'nost' zameshcheniya velikoknyazheskogo stola," *Tezisy istoriko-arkheologicheskogo seminara "Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv."* (15-18 maya 1990 g.), (Chernigov, 1990), pp. 141-5.

tation on the medieval town of Chernigov⁸ in which he argued persuasively that Chernigov in the twelfth century actually outstripped Kiev in size and successfully competed with Kiev for political supremacy.

In light of the conflicting views it becomes clear that the history of the Chernigov dynasty needs to be re-examined. What is more, since the two books on the principality were written towards the end of the nineteenth century, new information has become available. In addition to discovering more reliable chronicle compilations, Soviet investigators have assembled useful archaeological, sphragistic, architectural, artistic and numismatic evidence. A new examination of the dynasty, therefore, is overdue. It is hoped that this study will meet, at least in part, that need.

The chronicles provide us with a considerable amount of information on various aspects of princely lives, namely, their alliances, their rivalries, their wars, their marriages, their cultural ties and their ecclesiastical policies. However, the available sources offer little material on the social and economic conditions for the period. As a result, this study is devoted to the political, ecclesiastical, and cultural activities of the princes of Chernigov.

The main purpose of our investigation is to examine the fortunes of the dynasty of Chernigov from 1054, when the principality was created, to 1146, when Vsevolod the senior prince died. During the course of some hundred years the family's fortunes plummeted from a position of political supremacy in Rus' to one of absolute impotence and then rose again. To determine what factors dictated these developments we will investigate in detail the different aspects of inter-princely relations. In the main, we will attempt to sort out the tangle of chronicle information. This exercise will give rise to new questions and observations. A number of our conclusions challenge established views and, inevitably, will be subjected to scrutiny by other historians.

Finally, the objective of this study is not to idolize the princes of Chernigov, but to place them into their proper place in the history of Rus'. We hope to present them not as biased chroniclers described them, but as they saw themselves and as they were seen through the eyes of their peers and the inhabitants of Rus'.

⁸ *Drevniy Chernigov: Genezis i istoricheskaya topografiya goroda* [Doctoral dissertation presented to the Institute of History of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1982], (K., 1981).

B. CHERNIGOV BEFORE 1054

The lands of Chernigov were located on the left bank of the river Dnepr along the course of the river Desna which flowed into it. In the northeast their borders were contiguous with the territories of the Volga Bulgars and tribes of the Mordva in the middle reaches of the river Oka; in the north they had boundaries in common with the Rostov-Suzdal' lands and the principality of Smolensk; in the northwest they met the territories of Polotsk and to the west those of Turov and Kiev; in the south lay the principality of Pereyaslavl'; and in the southeast their neighbours were the marauding tribesmen of the steppe.

Chernigov lay in the region where the northern zone of pine forests growing in sandy infertile soil joined the southern forest-steppe zone with its oak groves and meadows on fertile black-earth grasslands. The area abounded with forests providing lumber for crafts and wild animals for hunting.⁹ It also had numerous rivers and streams teeming with fish. Its relatively fertile soils were favourable for agriculture and its grasslands provided excellent pastures for herds. Iron deposits in the vicinity of Chernigov were suitable for industry, and the different varieties of clay and sandy soils fostered a ceramic industry and glass making. In addition, stone was available for building.¹⁰

This favourable environment enticed settlers to migrate to the territories of Chernigov. The Polyane, Severyane, Radimichi, Vyatichi, and Dregovichii populated the area, but no tribe in its entirety settled in the new homeland. A part of each tribe living in the lands of Chernigov overflowed into the territories of a neighbouring principality. Because the Severyane occupied the core region along the middle and lower reaches of the Desna, the land of Chernigov was spoken of for a long period as "the land of the Severyane" (*Severskaya zemlya*). One town, Novgorod Severskiy, was also identified with the name of the tribe.¹¹

Little is known about the earliest stages of Chernigov's history. Arti-

⁹ Towards the end of the eleventh century when Prince Vladimir Monomakh was ruling in Chernigov, he often went on hunts for wild horses, aurochs, elk, deer, boar, and bear (Lav. col. 251).

¹⁰ Voronin, N. N., *Drevnerusskie goroda* (M.-L., 1945), p. 23 and Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, p. 30.

¹¹ *Ocherki istorii SSSR: period feodalizma IX-XV vv.*, vol. 1, gen. ed. B. D. Grekov (M., 1953), p. 393; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 61-2, 69-72.

facts discovered on its territories reveal that the region was inhabited some two thousands years B.C. Finds of Roman imperial coins, ceramics and other objects show that the local peoples were in contact with the cultures of the Mediterranean world around the time of Christ.¹²

By the sixth and seventh centuries Slavs had settled in the territory. As local authority among the tribes became consolidated the earliest town organizations such as Chernigov, Snovsk, Starodub, and Novgorod Severskiy came into existence. Chernigov was probably formed when four neighbouring settlements amalgamated into one or, what was more likely the case, when one of the four absorbed the other three into its administrative orbit.

Since our knowledge of Chernigov's history for these centuries is based primarily on archaeological evidence, it is difficult to ascertain the nature of the town's development before the formation of the Kievan state around the ninth century. All the same, evidence suggests that the seventh and eighth centuries were a turning point; the town shed the attributes of a tribal settlement and assumed the characteristics of an economic center.¹³ Chernigov also consolidated its control over the surrounding areas and, by the middle of the ninth century, established itself as the most important town on the left bank of the Dnepr. The kernel of Chernigov's territory was the northeast corner of the land of Rus'.¹⁴ As part of Rus', the town came under the authority of the prince of Kiev.

The sources fail to give conclusive evidence for the existence of an

¹² P. T. Tron'ko, "Istoricheskoe razvitie Chernigova v pamyatnikakh istorii i kul'tury," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et. al. (K., 1988), p. 10.

¹³ V. P. Kovalenko, "Osnovnye etapy razvitiya drevnego Chernigova," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et. al. (K., 1988), pp. 23-6; M. Yu. Braychevsky, "Pervoe pis'mennoe upominanie Chernigova v svyazi s problemoy formirovaniya goroda," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et. al. (K., 1988), pp. 39-40; V. I. Mezentshev, "Do pytaniia pro henezis davn'ogo Chernigova," *UIZh*, no. 1 (1980), pp. 107-12.

¹⁴ Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 75. Nasonov suggests that the kernel was probably the territory of the Desna surrounded by the oldest towns of the region, namely Snovsk, Novgorod Severskiy, and Starodub. It also constituted the towns which lay to the northwest, southwest and southeast of Chernigov (A. N. Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva [M., 1951], pp. 57, 61).

indigenous princely dynasty in Chernigov before the ninth century. As a result, historians are of two minds on the question. One view has it that the town lacked a local prince such as Mal of the Drevlyane or Khodota of the Vyatichi. Another holds that the remains of the magnate found in the burial mound known as *Chernaya mogila* near Chernigov were those of an unidentified local prince who ruled when Svyatoslav (d. 972) was prince of Kiev.¹⁵ Despite the inconclusive evidence, it is reasonable to assume that, like to the Drevlyane and the Vyatichi, the Severyane had a local princely dynasty.

The earliest written reports concerning Chernigov tell us little about the town's government. It is mentioned for the first time, and only in passing, in the tenth century. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959), in describing the annual boat-loads of merchants who travelled to Constantinople from the lands of Rus', explains that the

"monoxyla" [types of boats] which come down from outer Russia to Constantinople are from Novgorod... and others from the city of Smolensk and from Teliutza [?] and Chernigov and from Vyshegrad.¹⁶

The emperor's reference to Chernigov's merchants reveals that the town was an administrative and a commercial centre, but there is no indication that it was ruled by a prince.

The PVL mentions Chernigov under the year 907, even earlier, that is, than the emperor. According to this report, after Oleg successfully attacked Constantinople he dictated the terms of peace. Among other things, he demanded that the Greeks pay a tax to a number of towns in Rus', "first Kiev, then Chernigov, Pereyaslavl', Polotsk, Rostov, Lyubech, and other towns."¹⁷ The presence of Chernigov on the list of the towns of

¹⁵ Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," pp. 62-3; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 73-4; B. A. Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii drevnerusskikh gorodov*, vol. 1, ed. N. N. Voronin, in *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, no. 11 (M. - L., 1949), pp. 34, 38-9.

¹⁶ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, Greek text edited by Gy. Moravcsik, English translation by R. J. H. Jenkins, new revised edition (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), pp. 56-7; Braychevsky, "Pervoe pis'mennoe upominanie Chernigova," pp. 34-5.

¹⁷ Lav., col. 31, Ipat., col. 22; L. I. Palazhchenko, "Chernigov—krupnyy istoricheskiy, kul'turnyy i ekonomicheskiy tsentr USSR," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, P. P. Tolochko et. al. (K., 1988), pp. 5-9.

Rus' indicates that, by the beginning of the tenth century at the latest, it was under the direct jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev.

Later written evidence suggests that the indigenous rulers of Chernigov no longer wielded authority over the town when Svyatoslav, his sons Yaropolk and Vladimir, and grandson Yaroslav sat on the throne of Kiev. None of them invested a vassal prince as ruler of Chernigov. The absence of a local dynasty is also attested to by the brief rule of Vladimir's son Mstislav (1024-34). In 1024 he left Tmutarakan' (his domain on the Black Sea coast), seized Chernigov and made it the capital of his new principality. Two years later, after defeating his elder brother Yaroslav near Chernigov, Mstislav compelled him to forfeit control of the town and all the territories on the left bank.¹⁸

The PVL does not report that Mstislav had to defeat a local prince in order to assume control of Chernigov; according to the chronicler his only rival was Yaroslav. After Mstislav died heirless in 1034, Yaroslav, prince of Kiev, appointed no one in Mstislav's place.¹⁹ Therefore, we may conclude that from 1034 until the death of Yaroslav "the Wise" (1054) Chernigov remained under the direct political control of the prince of Kiev.

Chernigov was also under Kiev's ecclesiastical control, but it does not fall within our purview to examine the origins of its eparchy. Nevertheless, a number of useful observations can be made concerning the introduction of ecclesiastical administration to Rus' as a whole and to Chernigov in particular. Vague and often apparently contradictory information on this issue has given rise to opposing views among historians. They disagree on the identities and the number of the first eparchies in Rus'. One view holds that, after Vladimir adopted the Greek Orthodox faith from Byzantium (988), he established a metropolitanate and a number of eparchies; they were located in Chernigov, Rostov, Vladimir, and Belgo-

¹⁸ Ipat., cols. 134-6; Lav., cols. 147-9. Tmutarakan' was known by that name in Rus', as Tamatarkha or Tamatrakha in Byzantium, and Matrega or Matriga in Italy (A. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* [Cambridge, Mass., 1936], p. 101). Concerning the coming of the Slavs to Tmutarakan' see A. D. Stokes, "Tmutarakan'," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 91 (1960), pp. 499-514.

¹⁹ P. P. Tolochko, "Kiev i Chernigov v IX-XIII vv.," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et al. (K., 1968), pp. 16-7. Concerning the date of Mstislav's death, see below, p. 18.

rod.²⁰ Another view has it that Vladimir set up only three bishoprics: Kiev, Novgorod, and perhaps Belgorod. Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' were created between the years 1066 and 1070.²¹

Specific details describing the foundation of Chernigov's eparchy are given by only one source, the Nikon Chronicle. Under the year 992 this late chronicle has the following unique information: "In that year Leontius, metropolitan of Kiev and of all Rus', appointed Neofit as bishop of Chernigov."²²

We may never learn the year in which the eparchy of Chernigov was founded. In all likelihood, this happened soon after the Christianization of Rus', and it is almost certain that the town had a bishop during Mstislav's rule. As we have seen, the prince died in 1034 and was buried in the Cathedral of the Transfiguration of the Holy Saviour (*Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy sobor*) commonly referred to as Holy Saviour Cathedral (*Spasskiy sobor*), which he founded. At the time of his death, however, it was completed merely to the height that a horseman standing in his saddle could reach with his upraised hand.²³ According to custom, a cathedral was the seat

²⁰ E. E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 1, part 1, second edition (M., 1901), pp. 334, 666-8. Cf. Poppe who says that, in addition to the metropolitanate, Vladimir established four or five bishoprics: Belgorod, Novgorod, Polotsk, Chernigov, and probably Pereyaslavl' (A. Poppe, "L'organisation diocesaine de la Russie aux XIe-XIIe siècles," *Byzantion*, XL, 1970 (Brussels, 1971), pp. 166, 206-7).

²¹ M. D. Priselkov, *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoy istorii Kievskoy Rusi X-XII vv.* (Spb., 1913), pp. 48-9, 116 f. and Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 199.

²² Nikon., s.a. 992, p. 65; Nikonian Chronicle 1, p. 112; cf. "Kniga stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya," PSRL 21, chast' pervaya (Spb., 1908), pp. 41, 114; see also V. E. Rudakov, "Chetyrnadtsaty arkheologicheskiy s'ezd i tysyacheletie goroda Chernigova," *Istoricheskiy vestnik*, *Istoriko-literaturnyy zhurnal*, god 29, vol. 114, no. 10, (Spb., 1908), p. 235. D. Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli do poloviny XIV stoletiya* (K., 1882), pp. 67-8, 124, 280.

²³ Ipat., s.a. 1034, col. 138; Lav., s.a. 1036, col. 150. During excavations conducted in 1923, a skeleton dating from the beginning of the eleventh century, possibly Mstislav's, was discovered in the foundation of the cathedral (M. Makarenko, "Chernihiv's'kyi Spas. [Arkheologichni doslidy r. 1923]," *Zapysky Istorychno-filohichnoho viddilu*, bk 20 [K., 1928], pp. 45-8). During excavations conducted between 1966-69, a reliquary placed in the altar during the construction of the cathedral was discovered. The simple metal box, with the inscription "Panteleymon, Akaky, Makkavey" (the saints whose relics were in the box) has been dated to 1030-31, the years when construction is believed to have begun; the reliquary may have come from Tmutarakan' (N. V. Kholostenko, "Moshchenitsa Spasa chernigovskogo," *Kul'tura srednevekovoy Rusi*, eds. A. N. Kirpichnikov and P. A. Rappoport

of an eparchy.²⁴

The sources fail to explain the relationship that existed between the prelates of Chernigov and Kiev. It could have taken one of two forms. After asserting his political independence from Yaroslav, prince of Kiev, Mstislav may have secured for his bishop a similar status to the one held by the prelate in Kiev, that is, he may have intended to make the Holy Saviour Cathedral a metropolitan see whose occupant had jurisdiction over the left bank. Or he may have conceded ecclesiastical supremacy to Kiev and accepted a position of secondary importance for the bishop of Chernigov. Whatever Mstislav's objectives, they were brought to naught by his untimely death. After that, Yaroslav appropriated the left bank and subordinated Chernigov, politically and ecclesiastically, to Kiev.

In this manner, Chernigov's ascendancy was curbed; its rivalry for supremacy in Rus' was stifled. Yaroslav relegated the "capital" of the left bank to a position of secondary importance by placing its administration directly under his control. He also stopped the construction of Mstislav's cathedral. Despite Yaroslav's harsh treatment of Chernigov, its inhabitants evidently accepted their lot without protest. To judge from chronicle evidence, the town worked hand in glove with Kiev in supporting Yaroslav's policies until his death.

Historians have attempted to explain the motives for Chernigov's willingness to live in subservience to Kiev. A number suggested that the main factors were the towns' similar geographic conditions, their common boundaries, and their proximity to each other. Chernigov lay some 140 km from Kiev (i.e., along the route of the present-day highway), a distance which could allegedly be covered on horseback in one day.²⁵ Others argued that their cultural roots were an even stronger binding force. These

[L., 1974], p. 201).

²⁴ Poppe, "L'organisation diocesaine," p. 177, and his *Panstwo i Kosciol na Rusi w XI Wiek*, in *Dissertationes Universitatis Varsoviensis*, 26 (Warszawa, 1968), p. 164. Concerning the first eparchies of Rus' see E. Honigmann, "Studies in Slavic Church History: A. The Foundation of the Russian Metropolitan Church According to Greek Sources," *Byzantion*, vol. 17 (1945), pp. 128-62; Muller, L., *Zum Problem des Hierarchischen Status und der Jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der Russischen Kirche vor 1039*, in *Osteuropa und der Deutsche Osten*, series III, bk 6 (Koln-Braunsfeld, 1959); Ya. N. Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov' Drevney Rusi X-XIII vv.* (M., 1989), p. 38.

²⁵ See Vladimir Monomakh's "Instruction" (Lav., col. 250); see also B. A. Rybakov, *Drevnyaya Rus', Skazaniya—Byliny—Letopisi* (M., 1963), p. 130.

stemmed from the ninth century when the Polyane, Severyane, and Drevlyane were politically united into the "land of Rus'.²⁶

These observations fail to explain satisfactorily why Chernigov agreed to cooperate with Kiev. Had Mstislav been succeeded by his son, or by another prince who could challenge Yaroslav, the rivalry between the towns would have continued. The main reason why Yaroslav succeeded in asserting his rule over the left bank was Chernigov's failure to receive a prince who could govern it as Mstislav had done. As a result, the inhabitants of Chernigov had no choice but to succumb to the overlordship of Kiev. The geographic proximity and cultural affinities of the two towns merely helped to alleviate, to a degree, Chernigov's humiliation.

The name Chernigov is of unknown provenance. One view says that it has Scythian origins. Another suggests it was named by its founder, a certain prince Chernyy who was allegedly buried in the large mound (*Chernaya mogila*) outside medieval Chernigov near the eleventh-century Elets'kiy Monastery. A third view claims the town derived its name from the small thicket (*Cherniy gay*) growing on the site when the town was founded.²⁷

Chernigov is located on the right bank of the river Desna on top of the wooded escarpment emanating from the spot where the river Strizhen' flows into the Desna from the north. Ravines intersecting the promontory cut it into three spurs on which the "upper town" (*verkhniy gorod*) was located. The citadel, at the mouth of the river Strizhen', had the shape of a triangle. To the west of it lay the region of the Tretyak; the westernmost spur was the site of the Elets'kiy Monastery which probably derived its name from a forest of fir trees on the hill. Below the Elets'kiy hill at the foot of the escarpment on the low-lying flood-lands was the Podol, the lower suburb of the town. On the east and the south sides, the river Strizhen' and Desna served as defensive barriers for the town; on the west and north it was protected by woods and extensive marshlands known as Zamglay and Peristoe.²⁸

The citadel (*detinets*, *dneshniy grad*), more generally known as the *val*

²⁶ Tolochko, "Kiev i Chernigov v IX-XIII vv.," pp. 15-6.

²⁷ Semenov, vol. 5 (1885), p. 660.

²⁸ Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, p. 29; concerning the marshlands see A. V. Shekun and E. M. Veremeychik, "Selishcha IX-XIV vv. v mezhdurech'e nizoviy Desny i Dnepra," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et al. (K, 1988), p. 93.

(bank), was founded towards the end of the tenth century.²⁹ It was constructed in two stages. In the ninth century, it constituted only the southwest portion of the *val*, namely the most elevated part around Holy Saviour Cathedral. During the twelfth century, the defensive ditch dividing the citadel into two parts was filled in and the northeast portion was incorporated into the *dneshniy grad*. It was fortified first with earthenworks and a palisade and later with a stone wall. The outcrop of land gave the Chernigovans a commanding position over the surrounding territory. They exploited its military advantage by exerting their influence over the neighbouring towns.³⁰ From the time of its foundation to the middle of the twelfth century, the *dneshniy grad* served as the town's social and political center.

Northwest of the citadel lay the suburb (*posad*); under the year 1078 the chronicler refers to it as the *okol'nyy grad*.³¹ Its defensive works, originally built by Vladimir, were strengthened during the reign of his son Mstislav. In the main, they constituted belts of earthen walls, palisades, and ditches. On the east side the wall in question (some 3.5 m in width) started at the citadel and followed the course of the river Strizhen'. Then it turned to the southwest. On reaching the Elets'kiy hill, it turned to the east and, encompassing the Tretyak, followed the face of the escarpment until it joined the citadel again. The western section of the encircled area, the Tretyak spur, was separated from the rest of the *posad* by an earthen

²⁹ Under the year 988, the PVL states that Vladimir created towns along the Desna (Ipat., col. 106; Lav., col. 121). See also V. I. Mezentssev, "Pro formuvannia mis'koi teritorii davn'oho Chernihova," *Arkheolohiia*, no. 34 (K., 1980), p. 55; Kovalenko, "Osnovnye etapy razvitiya drevnego Chernigova," p. 26.

³⁰ Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," pp. 13-14, 60, 67; Mezentssev, "Pro formuvannia mis'koi teritorii davn'oho Chernihova," p. 55, and his *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 68-70; V. P. Kovalenko, "K istoricheskoy topografii chernigovskogo detintsa," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii seminar "Chernigov i ego okrug"* v IX-XIII vv., (26-28 sentyabrya 1988 g.) Tezisy dokladov (Chernigov, 1988), p. 21. Bohusevich suggested that the original *detintets* of Chernigov was located on the Elets'kiy hill ("Pro topografiyu drevn'ogo Chernigova," *Arkheologiya* (1951), vol. 5, pp. 116-26). There is no evidence to substantiate this hypothesis (Kovalenko, "Osnovnye etapy razvitiya drevnego Chernigova," p. 27).

³¹ Ipat., col. 192; Lav., col. 201.

wall.³² The earthen walls around the *okol'nyy grad* were the town's main defense against attacks from the nomads.³³

During the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries the *okol'nyy grad* was the largest section of Chernigov; it contained the commercial and industrial centers. However, it is generally believed that the earliest market was located between the wall of the *okol'nyy grad* and the river Strizhen' where the town's wharf was evidently to be found.³⁴ Traditionally, the market, placed in the low-lying section of a town near a river, was set up immediately after the citadel was established.³⁵ Similar to other towns, Chernigov's market square served as the meeting-place for *veche* assemblies.

Also outside the *okol'nyy grad*, but to the west extending beyond the Tret'yak, was the spur of land on which the Elets'kiy Monastery was built in the eleventh century. Southwest of the monastery, along the course of the Desna, additional spurs of land made up what are known as the Boldiniy Hills (*Boldiniy Gory*); these were covered with burial mounds. Below the monastery, towards the foot of the escarpment, sat the church of St. Elias.

According to the eighteenth-century plan of the town, the *okol'nyy grad* had four entrances. It has been suggested that these retained the same locations they occupied in the medieval period. One was on the side of the river Strizhen'; another was in the wall opposite the Elets'kiy Monastery which was located outside the town; two others, the north and northwest gates, were located in the section of the wall which ran be-

³² Contrary to former belief, archaeological evidence shows that the Tret'yak was not a later addition to the *okol'nyy grad* but one of its oldest sections (Mezentsev, "Pro formuvannia mis'koi teritorii davn'oho Chernihova," pp. 55-6).

³³ Mezentsev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 85-6. He points out that beyond the *okol'nyy grad* lay the youngest and least protected suburbs of the town; these were surrounded by a defensive system of a less permanent nature known as the *maloy grebli* or *ostrog*, that is, a palisade (*ibid.* pp. 89-93).

³⁴ The market was probably near the church of St. Nicholas which is known from eighteenth-century documents. The church was evidently built on the site of an older one of the same name. Churches dedicated to St. Nicholas, a patron of trade, were usually built in market squares. Archaeological evidence reveals that the area of the trading quarter near the river Strizhen' was inhabited in the eleventh century (Mezentsev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 98-100; Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," p. 14).

³⁵ M. N. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 2nd edition (M., 1956), pp. 248-9.

tween the river Strizhen' and the Elets'kiy Monastery.³⁶

Major roads radiated from the four gates. The eastern gate on the river Strizhen' was the point of origin for the route which probably led to such towns as Putivl', Kursk and points east. The road originating at the north gate took its travellers to destinations in the direction of Starodub and Novgorod Severskiy. From the northwest gate the road led to Lyubech which lay some 50 km away near the Dnepr; this road also followed the right bank of the Desna through Gushchino, Shestovitsy, Moraviysk, Lutava to Vyshgorod and then to Kiev. The shorter and more important road to Kiev, however, began at the Elets'kiy Monastery gate. It wound its way south, down the escarpment to the flood-plain, through the Podol, and to the ford at the Desna located near the village of Anisov; from there it proceeded to Kiev.³⁷

In crossing the flood-plain south of the Elets'kiy Monastery, the road to Kiev passed through the fourth quarter of the town, the Podol. Although it is not mentioned in the PVL or in later chronicles, this suburb, inhabited from the seventh and eighth centuries, was one of the oldest sections of Chernigov. Unfortunately, lack of contemporary documentation makes it difficult to fix its exact location. However, authors writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries referred to the suburb of Leskovitsa as the Podol. Leskovitsa was located on the flood-plain between the Elets'kiy Monastery and the later Trinity Monastery (founded on the escarpment to the west of the Elets'kiy Monastery). Consequently, it has been suggested that the Podol of medieval Chernigov became the later Leskovitsa.

No definitive evidence has been unearthed to prove that the Podol was defended. However, given the constant threat of nomadic incursions, historians believe it had a defensive network like other suburbs. Unlike Kiev, the Podol in Chernigov did not become the commercial and crafts center of the town. As we have seen, the market was at first located near the river Strizhen' and, by the eleventh century, it had been moved to the

³⁶ Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, p. 95.

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 95-6; Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," p. 14.

okol'nyy grad.³⁸

The flood-plain of the meandering Desna also had pleasant water-meadows. Up to at least the middle of the twelfth century princes evidently took their families to these meadows on excursions.³⁹ Not far from the church of St. Elias, on a sandy outcropping surround by water channels and bogs, lay the Sacred Grove (*Svyataya roshcha*). Similar pagan groves existed in almost all the early towns of Rus'. They were frequently located near the road leading south, in this instance, to Kiev.⁴⁰

A number of roads passing through Chernigov served as important trade routes. Indeed, Chernigov enjoyed a privileged position in commerce. It was located on the lower Desna in the place where, having been fed by its tributaries the Snov' and the Seym, it makes a sharp turn to the southwest to flow into the Dnepr. These rivers served as important routes for international trade. The southeast route followed the Desna and the Seym across the rivers Severskiy Donets and the Don to the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea; or, caravans could leave the Don, travel down the lower Volga to Itil' (present-day Astrakhan'), and cross the Caspian Sea to the Arabian lands. The northeast route took merchants up the Desna, across its upper reaches to the river Oka, and again to the great Volga route or to the Bulgars on the river Kama.

Merchants arriving in Chernigov along one of these routes would then continue west. They could travel overland to the Pripyat', the western tributary of the Dnepr, and follow its course to the Western Bug. The alternative was to sail south from Chernigov along the Desna to the Dnepr some 230 km downstream. On the Dnepr caravans picked up the route from the Varangians to the Greeks.⁴¹ Thus we see that Chernigov

³⁸ Mezentshev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 129-31, 133-5; see also M. E. Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," *Chteniya*, bk 1 (M., 1847), p. 24, and Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, pp. 43-4. Cf. V. A. Bohusevich who believed the Podol had no defenses around it ("Pro topografiiu drevn'ogo Chernihova," *Arkheologiya*, vol. V (K., 1951), p. 122; cf. Kovalenko, "Osnovnye etapy razvitiya drevnego Chernigova," p. 26).

³⁹ One chronicle reports that on a Sunday Prince Svyatoslav Ol'govich, his wife, and children came to the water-meadows where they set up tents (Ipat., s.a. 1160, col. 507).

⁴⁰ Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," pp. 9-12.

⁴¹ Merchants using this route followed the Gulf of Finland to Ladoga where they turned south along the river Volkhov to Novgorod. From there they followed the river Lovat' until it became necessary to convey their goods over portage to the

was on the crossroads of trade: the Dnepr route joined the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, the Desna route united east and west. The only town which rivalled Chernigov's location was Kiev, placed on the Dnepr just below the mouth of the Desna.⁴²

Chernigov was one of the largest towns of Rus', second only to Kiev. By the eleventh century its dimensions were impressive indeed: the *dneshniy grad* had around 10.5 hectares; the *okol'nyy grad* (its northeast portion) had some 25.4 hectares and the *Tre'yak* had approximately 19.5 hectares; the *Podol* had nearly 56 hectares.⁴³ In total, therefore, the town was approximately 100-120 hectares in size.⁴⁴

The eleventh century was an important period in Chernigov's development. In 1024, after the town became the capital of Mstislav's principality, its new status stimulated commerce and growth. It appears that the prince expanded the *detinets* to 10-10.5 hectares and constructed a defensive wall to the east of the Holy Saviour.⁴⁵ However, the most dramatic change to the citadel's architectural ensemble was the construction of the stone and masonry cathedral itself. The inhabitants of this important town must have been proselytized soon after the Kievars. The earliest churches in Chernigov, like the ones in Kiev, were made of wood and perished owing to the ravages of time. Local tradition holds that the first church was built by Vladimir on the site of a pagan sanctuary. After it burnt down his son Mstislav began building the stone and masonry Cathedral

region of Smolensk where they picked up the Dnepr. It took them to the Black Sea and Constantinople.

⁴² Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 33-4, 36-7.

⁴³ The measurement 1 hectare = 2.47 acres. See Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 146-50, and Karnabida, A. A., *Chernihiv: Arkhitekturno-istorychnyi narys* (K., 1980), pp. 16-7.

⁴⁴ During the same period Kiev had around 300-320 hectares and some 36,000-40,000 inhabitants. See V. I. Mezentssev, "The Territorial and Demographic Development of Medieval Kiev and Other Major Cities of Rus': A Comparative Analysis Based on Recent Archaeological Research," *The Russian Review*, vol. 48 (1989), pp. 160, 169.

⁴⁵ Kovalenko, "Osnovnye etapy razvitiya drevnego Chernigova," pp. 23, 27. The citadel of Chernigov was modelled on the one in Kiev (*gorod Vladimira*) which was some 10 hectares in size (Mezentssev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 68-70).

of the Holy Saviour on the same spot.⁴⁶

A small stone structure located near the cathedral has also been attributed to Mstislav. The so-called "two chamber tower" (*dvukhkamerniy terem*) was 9.8 by 6.5 m in size. A number of scholars suggest that the prince probably built it in the 1030s over the remains of a settlement from the eighth and ninth centuries which had been destroyed by fire. Archaeologists have also unearthed the foundations of other eleventh-century masonry structures (perhaps the residences of boyars) in the area of the cathedral.⁴⁷

After Mstislav's death his elder brother Yaroslav assumed control of Chernigov and evidently appointed a *posadnik* to administer it. There can be little doubt that under his control the economic and cultural life of the town which had attained new heights during Mstislav's rule, stagnated. Yaroslav refused to appoint a resident prince to Chernigov during his lifetime. However, before his death the prince did bequeath the town to one of his sons and it quickly experienced a renaissance.

⁴⁶ V. I. Mezentsev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. XI, no. 3/4 (1987), p. 366 and D. Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii, chast' 2: Vladimirskiy period* (M., 1880), p. 57. In the eighteenth century two silver idols were discovered near the Holy Saviour supporting the assertion that the site was first a pagan sanctuary (Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," pp. 3, 18).

⁴⁷ The twelfth-century Cathedral of SS. Gleb and Boris was erected on the ruins of the "two chamber tower" (Mezentsev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 71-2, and his "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," pp. 366-7. N. V. Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye knyazheskie terema XI v.," *Arkhitekturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 15 (M., 1963), pp. 3, 12-5; *Arkhеolohiia Ukraïns'koi RSR*, vol. 3, *Rann'oslov'ians'kyi ta davn'orus'kyi periody*, eds. V. I. Dovzhenok et al. [K., 1975], p. 208).

The First Generation

A. THE "TESTAMENT" OF YAROSLAV "THE WISE"

Chernigov, as we have seen, achieved its independence from Kiev for the first time in 1024, after Mstislav defeated his elder brother Yaroslav; he made it the capital of his domain on the east bank of the Dnepr. After he died in 1034 without an heir,¹ Yaroslav, prince of Kiev and Novgorod, annexed it to his realm and became absolute ruler of almost all the lands of Rus'.²

Historians have dubbed the reign of Yaroslav "the Wise" the "golden age" of Kievan Rus'. In the realm of culture he promoted Orthodox beliefs and Byzantine learning, and in the world of politics he established patrimonial domains and attempted to implement a practicable system of succession to Kiev. After his death, no prince of Kiev wielded as much power over vassal princes or had jurisdiction over as large a territorial base. The gradual decentralization of political authority after Yaroslav's death was one of the most important developments in the history of Rus'.

Yaroslav introduced important changes to the government of Rus' during his lifetime. However, the viability of his innovations was put to the test only after his death, that is, the hereditary domains he allotted to his sons, Kiev's new role within the hierarchy of patrimonies, the system of succession to Kiev, and the system of succession within local patrimonies.

¹ Ipat., col. 138, s.a. 1034; cf. Lav., col. 150, s.a. 1036. For the correct date see M. Dimnik, "The 'Testament' of Yaroslav 'The Wise': A Re-examination," *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, vol. XXIX, no. 4 (1987), p. 371.

² Pskov belonged to Yaroslav's brother Sudislav, but Yaroslav incarcerated him after Mstislav's death (Ipat., col. 139, s.a. 1034 and Lav., col. 151, s.a. 1036; see Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," p. 371). Yaroslav's elder brother Izyaslav had received Polotsk as his patrimony (s.a. 988, Lav., col. 121 and Ipat., col. 105); thus, Izyaslav's sons (Izyaslavichi) remained free of Yaroslav's political authority. However, the metropolitan of Kiev had jurisdiction over Polotsk (s.a. 1105, Lav., col. 281; Ipat., col. 257).

Chernigov and its princes formed an integral part of the political structure of Rus'. The town was second in importance to Kiev, and its dynasty emerged as one of the most powerful in the land. In order to evaluate the importance of Chernigov's princes, however, it is first necessary to broach one of the most complex questions in the history of Rus': we must determine, insofar as this is possible, the system of rule Yaroslav bequeathed to his sons.

The importance of Yaroslav's political bequest to his heirs cannot be overestimated. Indeed, it would not be too rash to assume that it was, in part if not in the main, because of his reorganization of the political structure that he was dubbed "the Wise." Yaroslav's "reforms" have not been preserved in any document. However, the text which reflects the spirit of his enactments most accurately is his so-called "testament."

It became the "constitutional" basis, as it were, for the political structure in Rus'. Since the Yaroslavichi, including the princes of Chernigov, were morally bound to abide by these directives, let us briefly examine the text of the "testament."

In the year 6562 [i.e., 1054] Grand Prince Yaroslav of Rus' died. While he was still alive, he instructed his sons in the following manner: "My sons, I am about to depart from this world. Love one another, for you are brothers [the sons] of one father and one mother. If you live in (brotherly) love, God will be with you; He will subdue your enemies and you shall live in peace. If you live in hatred, arguing and quarreling, not only will you perish, but the land your fathers and grandfathers secured with great labor will perish with you. Live in peace, brother listening to [i.e., consulting with] brother. I entrust my throne, Kiev, to my eldest son and your brother, Izyaslav, [who will occupy it] in my place. Listen to [i.e., obey] him as you listened to [i.e., obeyed] me for he will take my place among you. To Svyatoslav [I give] Chernigov, to Vsevolod [I give] Pereyaslavl', [to Igor' I give Vladimir], and to Vyacheslav [I give] Smolensk." That is how he allocated the towns forbidding them to trespass a brother's boundaries or to expel a brother [from his domain]. He instructed Izyaslav: "If anyone plots to offend one of his brothers, then you must assist the wronged brother." That is how he instructed his sons—to live in love.

[Yaroslav] was in poor health; he went to Vyshgorod and there became seriously ill. At that time Izyaslav was ruling in Turov, Svyatoslav in Vladimir, and Vsevolod was with his father [in Kiev] because he was Yaroslav's favourite son. [Yaroslav] loved him more than all the other sons so he always kept Vsevolod at his side. Yaroslav came to the end of his life and died on 20 February, on Saturday, during the first week of the fast, on the feast of St. Feodor. Vsevolod prepared the body for burial and, placing it on a sledge, took it to Kiev. Priests sang the customary dirges and the people bewailed his death. When they reached the church of St. Sofia they placed the body in a marble sarcophagus and Vsevolod and all the people lamented. Yaroslav died at the age of 76.³

The date that Yaroslav promulgated his "testament" is unknown. Although the PVL account implies he delivered it to his assembled sons shortly before his death, other evidence contradicts this. It is unlikely that the Yaroslavichi came to his deathbed because, if they had, they would have attended his funeral. According to the PVL only Vsevolod was present at the burial ceremony.⁴

The event which may have prompted Yaroslav to summon all his sons to Kiev was the untimely death of Vladimir his eldest son and heir

³ Ipat., cols. 149-51; cf. Lav., cols. 161-2, and NPL, pp. 181-2. For a detailed investigation of Yaroslav's "testament" see Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 369-86; cf. S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy mezhdru russkimi knyaz'yami Ryurikova doma* (M., 1847), p. 69 f.

⁴ The reference to Vsevolod may not be reliable. Other sources report that Izyaslav and not Vsevolod escorted his father's body to St. Sofia; see Nestor's "Chtenie o svv. muchenikakh Borise i Glebe," *Zhitiya svyatykh muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im*, ed. D. I. Abramovich (P., 1916), re-edited in *Die Altrussischen Hagiographischen Erzählungen und Liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb*, ed. L. Müller (München, 1967), p. 20, and "Chtenie o zhitii i o pogoublenii i o chyudesekh svyatouyu i blazhenouyu strastoterp'tsyu Borisa i Gleba s'spisanie Nestora po kharateynomu spisku Moskovskoy Sinodal'noy Biblioteke, s raznosloviyami po nekotorym drugim," intro. by O. Bodyansky, *Chteniya*, bk I (M., 1859), p. 18. According to the "Kniga stepennaya," a late source, Izyaslav was in Kiev at the time of his father's death and all the other sons were in their domains except for Vsevolod whom he kept at his side (p. 171; see also Tat., 4 [1964], p. 152; 2 [1963], p. 82). As a result, it appears that both Izyaslav and Vsevolod may have attended the funeral.

apparent. He died on 4 October 1052.⁵ Vladimir's death forced Yaroslav to designate another successor, Iziaslav. He may well have done this in the presence of all his sons and then made them swear allegiance to the newly designated heir.⁶ At the same time, he probably instructed them to live in brotherly love.⁷

Yaroslav's first instruction was directed at forestalling internecine strife, namely, the type of fratricidal wars that had killed most of his brothers and two uncles. He counselled his sons to live in brotherly love; if they did, God would give them victory over their enemies and there would be peace in the land. If they lived in hatred, they and their lands would perish. Yaroslav's instruction was based on two principles which distinguished his sons from the preceding generations of princes. Unlike their predecessors who were, in the main, pagans, the Yaroslavichi had embraced the Orthodox faith. The sons of Vladimir (d. 1015) and Svyatoslav (d. 972) were for the most part half-brothers born of their father's wives and concubines. Yaroslav, in keeping with Christian practice, had only one wife so his sons were born of "one father and one mother." In

⁵ Yaroslav's firstborn Il'ya died before 1020 as prince of Novgorod (PSRL 15, col. 142). Yaroslav sent his second son Vladimir to Novgorod around 1034 after the death of his brother Mstislav (Ipat., s.a. 1034, col. 138; Lav., s.a. 1036, col. 150). For Vladimir's death see NPL, p. 181; cf. Lav., col. 160; Ipat., col. 149.

⁶ The "Short" (*Kratkaya*) and "Expanded" (*Prostrannaya*) redactions of the "Russian Law" (*Pravda Rus'skaya*) support the view that the sons met before Yaroslav's death. They state that "After Yaroslav[']s death] his sons assembled once again" therewith implying that they had already met while Yaroslav was alive (NPL, p. 489; see also L. V. Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniya v drevney Rusi i Russkaya Pravda," *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, eds. V. T. Pashuto and L. V. Cherepnin [M., 1965], pp. 171-2). The chronicles give additional examples of a prince designating a successor in the presence of assembled princes. In 1145, for example, Vsevolod summoned the princes of Rus' to Kiev and designated his brother Igor' as his successor in their presence and required them to swear allegiance to Igor' (s.a. 1145, Ipat., cols. 317-8). The following year, shortly before his death, Vsevolod summoned the Kievans as well, and made them swear fealty to Igor' (Ipat., col. 320).

⁷ One view has it that Yaroslav's "testament" was a written document (*Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, ed. V. T. Pashuto and L. V. Cherepnin [M., 1965], p. 172). However, it is more likely that Yaroslav merely gave a verbal instruction (Yu. G. Alekseev, "Chastnyy zemel'nyy akt srednevekovoy Rusi [ot russkoy pravdy do pskovskoy sudnoy gramoty]," VID, vol. VI (1974), pp. 125-6).

the light of their Orthodox tradition, therefore, Yaroslav's appeal to his sons to live in brotherly love took on a Christian moral significance which would have been meaningless to their pagan ancestors.⁸

Yaroslav instructed all his sons to live in fraternal love, but this did not mean that their political relationships were those of equals. He appointed the eldest, Izyaslav, as the head of the family with duties of the "father." These entailed watching over his brothers as if they were his sons, enforcing justice, and defending the rights of a wronged prince. His brothers, for their part, had "to listen" to (i.e., obey) Izyaslav and treat him with the same respect they had shown their father. Yaroslav's "formula" made the family organization the basis of the political relationship. Accordingly, all the brothers had responsibilities to each other on the familial and political levels.⁹

The chronicler records another but more enigmatic directive that Yaroslav allegedly gave to his sons: "live in peace, brother listening to [i.e., consulting with] brother." What did Yaroslav mean when he insisted that "brother listen to brother"? Was this simply a general directive to his sons to consult one another on an informal basis before implementing policies? Or did Yaroslav have in mind a more formal method, a conciliar system whereby princes would meet at regular intervals or on an ad hoc basis? Such councils, presumably, would be presided over by the prince of Kiev as the "father" of the clan. Although, as we shall see, Yaroslav's sons and grandsons did deliberate in councils on a number of occasions, it cannot be proven that the assemblies were inspired by Yaroslav's "testament."¹⁰

⁸ Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 373-4. The theme of brotherly love became popular among the chroniclers, notably monks, who promoted the submissiveness of SS. Boris and Gleb as the ideal princely conduct for the Yaroslavichi. It has been suggested that the reference to brotherly love in this account was inserted by the monk Nikon "the Great" who, in the view of some, is responsible for reporting the "testament" in the PVL (*Povest' vremennykh let, chast' vtoraya, Prilozheniya*. Commentary by D. S. Likhachev, gen. ed. V. P. Adrianova-Peretts [M.-L., 1950], p. 93; M. D. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.* [L., 1940], p. 32).

⁹ The "formula" reflected, at least to a degree, the feudal relationship that existed between a king and his vassals in the West. For example, when a prince of Kiev assumed office he demanded oaths of fealty from the other princes of Rus'.

¹⁰ For example, in 1059, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod acted in accord when they released their uncle Sudislav from prison (Lav., col. 162; Ipat., col. 151; NPL, p. 183); in 1072 they legislated laws at the consecration of the Church of SS.

In addition to vesting moral authority in Izyaslav for his genealogical seniority, Yaroslav also conferred political supremacy by designating him prince of Kiev. Yaroslav therewith followed the examples of his father and grandfather who designated their eldest sons to succeed them to Kiev. However, Yaroslav also introduced changes to the existing practice of succession. Unfortunately his innovations are nowhere clearly defined. The best account, the "testament," merely states that Yaroslav declared to his sons, "I entrust my throne, Kiev, to my eldest son and your brother, Izyaslav, [who will occupy it] in my place." Does this signify that Yaroslav bequeathed Kiev as a permanent possession to Izyaslav and his descendants?

To judge from indirect testimony, Kiev assumed a special status among all the patrimonies of Rus'. After Vladimir died in 1015 the chronicler reports that Svyatopolk "sat in Kiev after his father." Similarly, after Yaroslav usurped Kiev, the chronicler states that the prince "sat in Kiev on the throne of his father."¹¹ The two similar phrases are significantly different from Yaroslav's statement wherewith he "entrusted" his throne to Izyaslav who was to rule from it "in my place." Kiev, in effect, remained Yaroslav's throne; Izyaslav acted as his "steward," as it were and his control of Kiev was conditional rather than absolute. That is, unlike Yaropolk Svyatoslavich (d. 980) and Svyatopolk Vladimirovich (d. 1019) who took possession of Kiev unconditionally, Izyaslav did not inherit it as his patrimony and he was unable to bequeath Kiev to his heir.¹²

Who would succeed Izyaslav to Kiev if not his son? The "testament" fails to give the answer. Nevertheless, there is little doubt that Izyaslav's brothers Svyatoslav and Vsevolod (but not the two youngest, Igor' and Vyacheslav) were eligible to succeed him in order of genealogical seniority. The narrative account (*skazanie*) of SS. Boris and Gleb has significant information. It states that Yaroslav "left as heirs to his father [Vladimir] and recipients of his own throne [Kiev], his sons Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and

Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod (Lav., cols. 181-2; Ipat., cols. 171-2; NPL., pp. 196-7). The most dramatic examples were the councils which Yaroslav's grandsons held in 1097 at Lyubech (Lav., cols. 256-7; Ipat., cols. 230-1), and in 1100 at Uvetichi (Lav., cols. 373-4; Ipat., col. 150).

¹¹ Ipat., col. 118; Lav., col. 132, and Ipat., col. 129; cf. Lav., col. 142.

¹² Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 375-6, 379.

Vsevolod.¹³

Additional evidence (which evidently has not yet been used by historians) supports the view that three brothers rather than one had the right of succession. Yaroslav gave the three brothers plots of land in Kiev; during Izyaslav's rule each one built a monastery on his allotment.¹⁴ Accordingly, no matter which of the brothers was prince of Kiev, the other two expected to have free access to the town to visit their monasteries. In this way, in keeping with Yaroslav's "testament," each prince would also be free to visit the capital to take counsel with his brothers. Consequently, Yaroslav's territorial bequests were physical proof that he intended Kiev to become the common patrimony of the three brothers.¹⁵ Barring any disruption to the natural order of things, each one would eventually rule from the throne of his father.

Yaroslav introduced a type of "ladder" or "rota" system of succession to Kiev. Svyatoslav, the next on the ladder of genealogical seniority, succeeded Izyaslav; after Svyatoslav's death Vsevolod replaced him. He was followed by the most senior eligible nephew who, in theory, was Izyaslav's eldest surviving son. After the nephew's death, succession went to his younger brother(s) and then, in genealogical order, to each remaining eligible cousin of the other two families (i.e., first the Svyatoslavichi and

¹³ *Uspenskiy sbornik XII-XIII. vv.* p. 62 and "Skazanie o sv. muchenikakh Borise i Glebe," *Zhitiya svyatykh muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhby im*, ed. D. I. Abramovich (P., 1916), re-edited in *Die Altrussischen Hagiographischen Erzählungen und Liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb*, ed. L. Müller (München, 1967), p. 55. See also V. Klyuchevsky, *Kurs russkoy istorii, chast' 1* (P., 1918), p. 208, and Dimnik, "The 'Testament,'" pp. 376-8.

¹⁴ Each prince's plot was in a different suburb of Kiev. In the late 1050s Izyaslav built the monastery of St. Dmitry on the hill between "Vladimir's town" (*Gorod Vladimira*) and the Dnepr (s.a. 1051, Lav., col. 159; Ipat., col. 147). Svyatoslav built the monastery of St. Simeon in the Kopyrev suburb (*konets*) located northwest of Yaroslav's town. In 1070, Vsevolod founded the monastery of St. Michael at Vydu-bichi about one and a half miles south of the Caves Monastery (Ipat., col. 164; Lav., col. 174. For the locations of the monasteries see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, pp. 54-7).

¹⁵ There is no evidence that the descendants of the *izgoi* princes had patrimonial allotments in Kiev. Unlike the descendants of Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, those of Vladimir, Igor', and Vyacheslav never referred to familial monastic holdings in Kiev.

then the Vsevolodovichi).¹⁶

Yaroslav's proposed order of succession was subject to the traditional principals of succession and debarment. As a general principle, if a prince successfully occupied a town each of his sons had the right to rule from "the throne of his father" when his turn came according to the order of genealogical seniority. Conversely, if a prince failed to govern a town (e.g., Kiev), his sons would be debarred from ruling it; they became *izgoi*.¹⁷

Yaroslav's intention, therefore, was to rotate supreme political authority in the land among his three eldest sons and, after their deaths, among their families. Each family would assert its authority over the others during the period of time that its genealogically eldest prince ruled Kiev. Since supreme power in Rus' depended on controlling Kiev, no family could attain this position permanently if the "ladder" system was faithfully observed. In this way Kiev would become the common patrimony of the three eldest Yaroslavichi and their descendants.

As a result, in addition to following the traditional practice of succession by designating his eldest son to rule Kiev, Yaroslav also modified it in three ways. He decreed that Kiev would not be the hereditary domain of any one prince; he decreed that the number of legitimate claimants would be increased to three Yaroslavichi and their families; he decreed that the right of succession between the members of these families would be determined according to a "ladder" system of rotation based on genealogical seniority. Yaroslav therefore created a two-tiered princely hierarchy: the one, an "inner circle" as it were, constituting the three eldest princes (triumvirate) and their descendants enjoying the right of succession; the other, the *izgoi* princes and their families who were denied that right. The latter tier consisted of the descendants of Yaroslav's two

¹⁶ S. M. Solov'ev described the system of succession incorrectly. He claimed the death of a prince affected all those who ruled cities of lesser importance. The death of the prince of Kiev influenced all the princes of Rus' and was the signal for a general relocation of princes. Each one advanced one step up the political ladder to a town of greater importance (*Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, vol. 2 [M., 1962], p. 346 f., cf. Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," pp. 369-71).

¹⁷ Yaroslav's grandson Rostislav, the son of Vladimir prince of Novgorod, was an excellent example. Rostislav was debarred from succession to Kiev because Vladimir (who predeceased his father Yaroslav) failed to sit on the throne of his father in Kiev. Even though he was debarred from Kiev, Rostislav had a legitimate claim to Novgorod because his father did rule there.

youngest sons, Igor' and Vyacheslav, as well as the heirs of his eldest son Vladimir.

Yaroslav also adopted the practice of his father Vladimir and his grandfather Svyatoslav by allocating hereditary domains to his sons. Although he merely entrusted Kiev to Izyaslav to rule "in my place," Yaroslav "gave" Chernigov to Svyatoslav, Pereyaslavl' to Vsevolod, Vladimir to Igor', and Smolensk to Vyacheslav.¹⁸ The chronicler then observed: "That is how he allocated the towns forbidding them to trespass upon a brother's boundaries or to expel a brother [from his domain]." Since Yaroslav prohibited his sons from trespassing on one another's domains and from expelling one another, he clearly intended the territorial allocations to be permanent.¹⁹

The chronicler also reports, "while he was still alive [Yaroslav] organized his sons." His statement suggests that Yaroslav allocated the patrimonial domains shortly before his death. Although, as has been suggested, the prince may have imparted his "testament" to his assembled sons sometime after Vladimir's death, he must have made his first territorial assignments at an earlier date. Most likely he followed the practice of his father Vladimir and gave each son a town when he came of age.²⁰

As we have seen, Yaroslav gave Novgorod to his firstborn Il'ya; after the latter died without heirs around 1020 he gave the town to his next eldest son, Vladimir. Furthermore, according to the "testament" account cited above, at the time of Yaroslav's death Izyaslav was prince of Turov²¹ and Svyatoslav was ruling Vladimir. Both princes had received

¹⁸ Lav., col. 161.

¹⁹ Many historians reject the view that Yaroslav allocated permanent domains. They support Solov'ev who claimed that the death of a prince effected all the princes of lesser importance (see above, p. 25, and Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," pp. 378-80).

²⁰ Vladimir died in 1015. However, under the year 988 the PVL states that he appointed his eldest son Vysheslav to Novgorod, Izyaslav to Polotsk, Svyatopolk to Turov, and Yaroslav to Rostov. After Vysheslav died Yaroslav was given Novgorod, Boris received Rostov, Gleb went to Murom, Svyatoslav got the Drevlyane lands, Vsevolod was allotted Vladimir, and Mstislav occupied Tmutarakan' (NPL, p. 159, cf. Ipat., cols. 105-6 and Lav., col. 121).

²¹ Concerning Izyaslav's patrimony of Turov see Dimnik, "The 'Testament,'" pp. 380-5, and V. Lyaskoronsky, "Kievskiy Vyshgorod v udel'no-vechevoe vremya," Zh.M.N.P., novaya seriya, chast' XLVI (viii) (1913), pp. 269-73. See also M. Kh.

their towns as they came of age, evidently after Vladimir occupied Novgorod. This is suggested by the information that Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, according to their genealogical seniority, were assigned the two towns of greatest importance after Novgorod: Turov and Vladimir.²²

The next eldest Yaroslavich was Vsevolod. At the time of Yaroslav's death he was living with his father because, explains the chronicler, Vsevolod was Yaroslav's favourite son. However, the chronicler's reason is suspect; it is probably a later interpolation made by one of Vsevolod's scribes. According to the "testament," Vsevolod's patrimony was the important town of Pereyaslavl' in the heart of Rus'. The only other town in this area which Yaroslav created into a new patrimony was Chernigov. However, Svyatoslav, whose town it became, moved to Chernigov only after Yaroslav's death. Evidently, like Svyatoslav, Vsevolod also moved to Pereyaslavl' only after his father's death. Therefore, the real reason why Yaroslav kept Vsevolod by his side was probably a political one: he wished to retain direct control over all the lands in the immediate vicinity of Kiev, including Chernigov and Pereyaslavl', until his death.

We are not told the whereabouts of Yaroslav's youngest sons, Igor' and Vyacheslav. Since, if we can believe the chronicler, only Vsevolod was living with his father in Kiev, his two younger brothers must have been dispatched to towns given them by their father. As a result, Yaroslav probably sent the youngest, Vyacheslav, to Smolensk when he came of age; later, Yaroslav merely confirmed the allocation in his "testament."

Igor's case is more problematic. It is unlikely that he was living in Vladimir, which was allotted to him in the "testament," since Svyatoslav was prince of that town until Yaroslav's death. As Igor' was older than Vyacheslav he would have received a town of greater importance than

Aleshkovsky who explains that Izyaslav named his son Svyatopolk after Svyatopolk Vladimirovich (the alleged murderer of SS. Boris and Gleb) whom Izyaslav succeeded as prince of Turov (*Povest' vremennykh let* [M., 1971], p. 87).

²² Turov, located near the spot where the river Sluch' flows into the Pripyat', was one of the oldest towns of Rus'. During the earliest period of Rus', the important trade route from Kiev to the Baltic Sea passed through Turov (Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, pp. 305-6; A. V. Kuza, "Vazhneyshie goroda Rusi," *Drevnyaya Rus': Gorod, zamok, selo*, ed. B. A. Kolchin (M., 1985), pp. 78-9). Vladimir in Volynia, located in the upper reaches of the Pripyat' near the lands of the Poles, was the most powerful western-Rus' outpost and an important trade center (P. P. Tolochko, *Drevniy Kiev* (K., 1970), pp. 42-3; Kuza, "Vazhneyshie goroda Rusi," pp. 76-7).

Vyacheslav. Consequently, Yaroslav may have given him Tmutarakan', but there is no proof.²³

The evidence of the "testament" reveals that, not long before his death, Yaroslav changed a number of the original territorial allocations. At that time, according to the PVL, he "organized" (*naryadi*) his sons. Yaroslav's hand was forced by the untimely death of his eldest son, Vladimir, prince of Novgorod. After that, the second most powerful town in the land, became the patrimony of an *izgoi* since Vladimir's son, Rostislav, lost the right of succession to Kiev. This meant that politically Novgorod was now less important than Turov because its prince, Izyaslav, became the new heir apparent. Yaroslav may have considered appointing Izyaslav to Novgorod to maintain the Kiev-Novgorod axis, but he had to break tradition to make that change. His father, Vladimir, it is true, had appointed Yaroslav himself to Novgorod after his elder brother Vysheslav died. That had been possible because Vysheslav had no heirs; Vladimir, however, had a son, Rostislav, who was the legitimate heir to Novgorod.²⁴ Thus Yaroslav's hands were tied because he was determined to respect Rostislav's rights even though he was, it appears, still a minor and an *izgoi*. In the light of the altered order of succession to Kiev, therefore, Yaroslav also considered it expedient to modify his original territorial allocations.

Yaroslav's "organization" of his sons as reflected in the "testament" was therefore a re-organization. He designated a new successor, Izyaslav, in place of the deceased Vladimir. He changed the nature of his successor's control over Kiev. Whereas, in the past a successor to Kiev occupied it as his patrimony, Izyaslav received it merely in trust, so to speak, until his death. As a result, unlike Turov which remained the patrimony of Izyaslav's descendants after his death, Kiev, according to Yaroslav's plan of succession, passed into the hands of the genealogically eldest Yaroslavich

²³ Svyatoslav's son Oleg became prince of Vladimir and of Tmutarakan'. It is interesting to note that he named his second son Igor'. Since the latter was born in Tmutarakan', it is tempting to think that Oleg chose the name in memory of his uncle Igor' because Oleg ruled the same principalities (Vladimir and Tmutarakan') that his uncle had ruled. As we have noted above, Izyaslav named his son Svyatopolk in memory of the prince who ruled Turov before him (see pp. 26-27).

²⁴ On the question of Rostislav's right to rule Novgorod see Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 382.

(viz. Svyatoslav or, if he was dead, Vsevolod).²⁵ On moving to Kiev, the new prince retained control of his own patrimony just as Izyaslav had kept Turov. In this manner, rule in Kiev would pass from senior prince to senior prince among three families of the "inner circle." With this plan, Yaroslav attempted to ensure that the prince of Kiev always had a territorial base larger than that of any other prince and with it, military supremacy in the land.

We see that in revamping the system of succession to Kiev, Yaroslav expanded the number of candidates. Whereas during the reigns of his father Vladimir and grandfather Svyatoslav only the eldest surviving son was the legitimate claimant,²⁶ Yaroslav increased the number to three sons: Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod.

After his son Vladimir died, Yaroslav also redistributed a number of the patrimonies. Since he (or, at any rate, the chronicler recording the "testament") neglected to mention that the two most important towns after Kiev, Novgorod and Turov, were given to different sons, they presumably remained the possessions of the princes who first received them: Vladimir (i.e., his heir) and Izyaslav. Svyatoslav, we are told, received the newly created principality of Chernigov and forfeited control of Vladimir; Vsevolod, who had been living with his father in Kiev, was given the newly created domain of Pereyaslavl'; Igor', who had already received a patrimony (probably Tmutarakan'), moved to Vladimir in Svyatoslav's stead; the youngest, Vyacheslav, was confirmed as prince of Smolensk.

Yaroslav's most radical territorial change was to create two new patrimonies on the left bank of the Dnepr: Chernigov and Pereyaslavl'. This had two important results. The size of the Kievan domain was almost halved. Izyaslav would inherit a principality whose territories were located almost entirely on the right bank of the Dnepr.²⁷ By dividing the Kievan

²⁵ Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," pp. 383-5.

²⁶ The question of succession to Kiev during this early period has been inadequately studied. However, an examination of the sources suggests that the early princes of Rus' followed a custom of land distribution like the one practiced by the Merovingian and the Carolingian rulers in the West: before his death a king divided up the realm into equal hereditary domains among all his sons.

²⁷ The Kievan domain comprised territories around Kiev and the lands of the Drevlyane which Yaroslav's father Vladimir had incorporated into the Kievan domain (see Dimnik, "The 'Testament,'" p. 383).

lands into three parts, Yaroslav created a new hierarchy of political centers in Rus'. After Kiev, the seat of central authority, the politically most important towns became the capitals of the three claimants to Kiev: Iziaslav's Turov, Svyatoslav's Chernigov and Vsevolod's Pereyaslavl'. Significantly, each one of these territories had boundaries in common with the central Kievan domain.

During Yaroslav's reign, the political axis of power was Kiev-Novgorod. The latter was important because it was Yaroslav's patrimony and also because, after Kiev, it was the wealthiest town in the land. By introducing his "reformed" political structure Yaroslav seemingly ignored Novgorod. He created three new potential axes of power and they were all located in the southern heart of Rus', namely, Kiev-Turov, Kiev-Chernigov, and Kiev-Pereyaslavl'. The axis of power would be determined by which of the three Yaroslavichi ruled Kiev in conjunction with his patrimony.²⁸

The advantage of hindsight enables us to see Yaroslav's rationale for his "organization" of the triumvirate. He intentionally provided them with domains located in relative proximity to Kiev and to each other. On the one hand, this would enable the prince of Kiev to govern Rus' in frequent consultation with princes of the other two families, namely, according to Yaroslav's directive of "brother listening to [consulting with] brother." On the other hand, the proximity of the domains would allow the princes to join forces on relatively short notice should the need arise.²⁹

Yaroslav's promotion of the southern towns led to the demotion of Novgorod. As we have seen, he had originally made the northern emporium the patrimony of his firstborn Il'ya; after the latter's death he gave it to the eldest surviving son, Vladimir. Yaroslav therewith acknowledged Novgorod's importance to be second only to Kiev. Indeed, it had served as kingmaker on two occasions: it helped Yaroslav himself and his father Vladimir usurp Kiev. However, after the premature death of Yaroslav's son Vladimir, the latter's descendants became *izgoi*. Therefore, even though Novgorod remained one of the most important commercial centers in Rus', it lost the political prestige it had enjoyed in inter-princely relations

²⁸ Cf. P. P. Tolochko who claims that Yaroslav's "testament" did not bring any innovations into the political administrative structure of Rus' (*Drevnyaya Rus'* [K., 1987], p. 86).

²⁹ The triumvirate demonstrated such co-operation during the course of almost two decades when dealing with internal problems and external enemies.

through the senior status of its prince. To judge from their earlier behaviour,³⁰ the Novgorodians must have been slighted by Yaroslav's reorganization of domains. Even though the chronicler fails to report any overt discontent on their part, the seed for future conflict was sown.

To judge from the chronicler's account of the "testament," Yaroslav's main concern was to set up a stable system of government on the national level. However, it is reasonable to assume that he intended his sons to adapt his "organization," insofar as this was possible, to their domains. Yaroslav divided up his realm into patrimonies among his sons; he expected Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod to break up their patrimonies among their sons as well. Just as on the national level Kiev would not become the private domain of Yaroslav's successor, so on the local level the patrimonial capital would not become the personal possession of the incumbent. It remained the common patrimony of the entire family. Finally, following the national practice, the three Yaroslavichi would implement the "ladder" system of succession locally in their domains.

As an example, let us examine the case of Chernigov. Svyatoslav was expected to carve up his patrimony among his sons by allocating domains to them as they came of age. Chernigov itself remained his personal possession until his death. At that time Svyatoslav's eldest son, the designated successor, occupied Chernigov in the place of his father and became the "father" of the family. If during his tenure in Chernigov the senior Svyatoslavich also became the genealogically eldest prince of all the Yaroslavichi in Rus', he occupied Kiev.³¹ After he moved to Kiev or died as prince of Chernigov, the senior Svyatoslavich would be succeeded by his eldest surviving brother, or, if there was none, by his eldest eligible surviving

³⁰ In the second half of the tenth century, after learning that Svyatoslav appointed his sons Yaropolk to Kiev and Oleg to the lands of the Drevlyane, the Novgorodians demanded that he send them a prince as well. They threatened to find one for themselves if he refused. Therefore, Svyatoslav sent them his son Vladimir who was born of a concubine (s.a. 970: Ipat., col. 57; Lav., col. 69; NPL, p. 121).

³¹ The best documented example is from Turov. In 1086, Yaropolk, Izyaslav's eldest son who had succeeded his father to Turov, was murdered. His younger brother Svyatopolk then moved from Novgorod to Turov, the patrimonial capital, even though Yaropolk was survived by a son (s.a. 1088, Ipat., col. 199; Lav., col. 207; see Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 384). Later, as we shall see, when Svyatopolk became the genealogically eldest Yaroslavich, he occupied Kiev.

nephew.³²

To judge from the available evidence, these were the principles of succession and territorial allocation that Yaroslav bequeathed to his descendants in the hope of ensuring a stable government in Rus'. Yaroslav himself, like his father Vladimir, seized Kiev by force; therefore, he was well aware of the possibility that his own decrees might be violated by a powerful upstart. To deter such challengers, he attempted to assure for his successor authority (i.e., territorial possessions and military power) superior to that of any other individual prince. In addition, he imparted moral counsel to his descendants; he wanted them to cement their relationships with a bond of Christian fraternal love. The latter was not merely a pious platitude for Yaroslav but the moral basis for princely conduct. The seriousness with which he held this view is confirmed by the information (if we can take the chronicler's account at face value) that he not only began his "testament" with the injunction, but also repeated it at the end. The chronicler concluded the "testament" with the words, "That is how he organized his sons—to live in love."

It is interesting to note that Yaroslav's "testament" does not end with a formulaic anathema of all transgressors as was the case in his statute (*ustav*) on Church Laws. In the latter he concluded with the injunction:

if anyone breaks my statute or transgresses my decrees, whether he be one of my sons or grandsons or great-grandsons, or anyone of my descendants, or anyone of the boyars ... he will answer to me at the Last Judgement before God, and he shall be damned by the 318 Holy Fathers of Nicaea and all the saints. Amen.³³

If Yaroslav's "testament" ever existed in a written form, it probably ended with a similar topos. The Christian sentiment reflected by the statute also

³² In 1123 Svyatoslav's son David died as prince of Chernigov and was succeeded by his younger brother Yaroslav. Since three of Svyatoslav's sons (Oleg, David, Yaroslav) ultimately ruled in Chernigov, the right of succession by three sons on the local patrimonial level, just like on the national level, may have been a principle inaugurated by Yaroslav.

³³ NPL, pp. 481-5; see also Arkhimandrit Varlaam, "Opisanie Sbornika XV stoletiya Kirillo-Belozerskago Monastyrya," *Uchenyya zapiski, vtorago otdeleniya, Imperatorskoy Akademii Nauk*, ed. I. I. Sreznevsky, bk V (Spb., 1859), pp. 54-7.

pervaded the "testament." Since Yaroslav himself was unable to enforce his decrees, he relied on his descendants' respect for the moral authority of the Orthodox Church, namely on their fear of being cast out of the Christian community here on earth and of eternal damnation after death.

After "organizing" his sons Yaroslav began to fail. He went to Vyshgorod where he became gravely ill and died in February, on the Feast of St. Feodor during the first week of the fast.³⁴ As we have seen, his body was taken to Kiev by either Vsevolod or Izyaslav, or both, and buried in the Cathedral of St. Sofia. A graffito written on one of the walls of the cathedral records the event: "In the year 1054 (6562) on the 20th of February, the death of our tsar on Sunday in the week of the Martyr Feodor."³⁵ The inscription was probably made by an eye-witness at the time of the burial. Therefore, the graffito is our most authoritative witness of the date of Yaroslav's death.³⁶

³⁴ The correct date of Yaroslav's death has been much debated. Some historians suggest the 18th and others the 19th of February 1054; still others say the year was 1053 (B. A. Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," *Arkheologiya SSSR, Svod arkheologicheskikh istochnikov*, E 1-44, ed. B. A. Rybakov [M., 1964], p. 14). Some propose 4 March 1055 (N. Shlyakov, "Vosem'sot pyat'desyat let so dnya konchiny velikago knyazya Yaroslava i Mudrogo," *Zh.M.N.P., novaya seriya, chast' IX* (vi) (Spb., 1907), pp. 362-400). Cf. Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 369 where the date is given incorrectly as 20 February 1055. In general, historians accept the year 1054 to be correct, but they disagree as to whether the day was Saturday the 19th or Sunday the 20th (Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, second edition [L'vov, 1905; reprint N.Y., 1954], p. 44; S. M. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, vol. 1 [M., 1962], p. 220 and vol. 2 [M., 1962], p. 350; Belyaev, *Razskazy iz russkoy istorii*, p. 114; V. A. Kuchkin, "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya v X-pervoy treti XIII vekov [Tsentry i granitsy]," *Istoriya SSSR*, 2 [1969], p. 67, and others).

³⁵ B. A. Rybakov, "Zapis' o smerti Yaroslava Mudrogo," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, no. 4 (M., 1959), pp. 245-9 and his "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," p. 14; see also S. A. Vysotsky, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI-XIV vv.*, vyp. 1 (K., 1966), pp. 39-41 and A. Sjöberg, "What Year was Yaroslav the Wise Born in?," *Russian Linguistics*, vol. 5, no. 2 (Dordrecht/Boston, 1980), p. 117.

³⁶ February 20th fell on a Sunday in the year 1054 of the January Year (C. R. Cheney, ed., *Handbook of Dates* [London, 1955], pp. 108-9, Table 13). The graffito writer apparently used the Ultra-March Year. Unlike the March Year (e.g., 6562 = 1054/5) which began with the March of the January year 1054 and ended with February of 1055, the Ultra-March Year (6562 = 1053/4) began with March in the January year 1053 and ended in February 1054. Accordingly, Sunday, 20 February of the January year 1054 fell into the Ultra-March Year 6562 = 1053/4 (see diagram

After Yaroslav's death the lands of Rus', which he had controlled almost in their entirety, were divided among his sons. The distribution was not a new occurrence since both his father Vladimir and grandfather Svyatoslav had done the same. Nevertheless, it was significantly different because Yaroslav introduced a political structure intended to prevent any one prince from imposing his rule over the entire land as Yaroslav himself had done. As we shall see, one of the most powerful deterrents to any ambitious prince was the determination of the different lines of Yaroslavi-chi to maintain their autonomy. Indeed, in the future, it would be the rival dynastic branches rather than individual princes who attempted to assert their supremacy over the land.

Unfortunately for Rus', after Yaroslav's death up to the time of the Tatar invasion (1239), his descendants often became embroiled in bitter internecine wars. Almost every generation, to a larger or smaller extent, transgressed his moral counsel, his principle of succession to Kiev and his patrimonial designations.³⁷ Of special importance to our investigation is the knowledge that, as one of the most powerful dynasties, the princes of Chernigov were often, rightly or wrongly, at the centre of these rivalries.

B. SVYATOSLAV OF CHERNIGOV

Yaroslav "the Wise" bequeathed Chernigov to his son Svyatoslav. He, in turn, sired the dynasty of princes which governed the principality without interruption from 1097 until its invasion by the Tatars in the first half of the thirteenth century. However, before embarking on an investigation of the political developments immediately following Yaroslav's death, let us

p. xvii). It has also been suggested, incorrectly in our view, that the graffito writer used the Byzantine system of dating, that is, the September Year (Rybakov, "Zapis' o smerti Yaroslava Mudrogo," pp. 247-48, his "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," pp. 14-16, and Vysotsky, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI-XIV vv.*, pp. 39-41). Cf. A. V. Poppe who suggested that the entry of Yaroslav's death in the PVL was made in either the September or the Ultra-March Year ("K voprosu ob ul'tramartovskom stile v 'Povesti vremennykh let,'" *Istoriya SSSR*, 4 [1974], p. 178).

³⁷ A. D. Gradovsky observed that the "testament" was unrealizable, but this does not mean that it did not exist. Yaroslav left a system of succession, but it was modified at every turn ("Gosudarstvennyy stroy Drevney Rossii," *Sobranie sochineniy A. D. Gradovskogo* [Spb., 1899], p. 353).

first acquaint ourselves with Svyatoslav and his family.

Svyatoslav was born in 1027, the fourth son of Yaroslav "the Wise."³⁸ His mother was Ingigerd the daughter of Olaf, King of Sweden.³⁹ And his Christian name was evidently Nicholas after St. Nicholas of Myra in Licia.⁴⁰ The PVL tells us nothing about his formative years. We may merely assume that, since he grew up during the so-called "golden-age" of Rus' when Orthodox Christianity and Byzantine culture flowered under Yaroslav's patronage, he was educated in an Orthodox milieu at his father's court. The first chronicle reference to his political career was the report of his rule in Vladimir at the time of his father's death. This suggests that he was given the town when he was around ten years of

³⁸ Ipat., col. 137; Lav., col. 149; see Zotov, pp. 256-7. His elder brothers were Il'ya, Vladimir, and Izyaslav; his younger brothers were Vsevolod, Igor', and Vyacheslav. He evidently had three sisters: Anastasia, Elisabeth, and Anne (Baum. I; cf. W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia: Tablice* [Warszawa, 1959], Table 21; Rapov, Table 1). Yaroslav had a portrait of his family painted on three walls inside the Cathedral of St. Sophia. The four eldest sons (without the deceased Il'ya) are depicted on the south wall (S. O. Vysots'kyi, *Pro shcho rozpovily davni stiny* [K., 1978], p. 55 f. and his *Spetskie freski Sofiyskogo sobora v Kieve* [K., 1989], pp. 64-112; see also *Istoriya Kiev*, vol. 1, "Drevniy i srednevekovyy Kiev," gen. ed. I. I. Artemenko [K., 1982], pp. 178-9; cf. N. N. Nikitenko, "Knyazheskiy gruppovoy portret v Sofii Kievskoy i vremya sozdaniya sobora," *Pamyatniki kul'tury: Novye otkrytiya*, 1986 [L., 1987], p. 239). A number of historians wrongly believe the portraits on the south wall are those of Yaroslav's daughters (M. K. Karger, "Portrety Yaroslava Mudrogo i ego sem'i v Kievskoy Sofii," *Uchenye zapiski, Leningradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, no. 160, *Seriya istoricheskikh nauk*, vyp. 20 [L., 1954], pp. 143-80 and V. N. Lazarev, "Novye dannye o mozaikakh i freskakh Sofii Kievskoy. Gruppovoy portret semeystva Yaroslava," *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, vol. 15 [M., 1959], pp. 148-69).

³⁹ Baum. I, 8; see M. Hellmann, "Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen," *Forschungen zur Osteuropaischen Geschichte*, Band 8 (Berlin, 1962), pp. 13-4. Cf. Ilarion's "Sermon on Law and Grace" where Yaroslav's wife Ingigerd is referred to by her baptismal name Irene ("Slovo o zakone i blagodati" Ilariona, ed. A. M. Moldovan [K., 1984], p. 98, and *Medieval Russia's Epics, Chronicles, and Tales*, revised and enlarged edition by S. A. Zenkovsky [New York, 1974], p. 89).

⁴⁰ Zotov, pp. 33, 239, 256; G. A. Miloradovich, "Lyubech, chernigovskoy gubernii, gorodnitskago uyezda," *Chteniya*, bk 2 (M., 1871), p. 31. Cf. others who wrongly claim that Svyatoslav's Christian name was Simeon, (e.g., Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 317, 333 and Table 3, and E. E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 1, part 2, second edition [M., 1904], p. 298). A prince was usually given two names, the one secular and the other, received at baptism, Christian. The latter was usually used at his birth and death, on ecclesiastical documents, coins and seals. Princes often dedicated churches to their patron saints.

age after attaining his majority. Since he was some twenty-eight years of age in 1055 when he moved to Chernigov, Svyatoslav probably ruled Vladimir for over fifteen years before his father bequeathed to him the newly created principality of Chernigov.

Svyatoslav married while living in Vladimir. Unfortunately, the PVL fails to report the two most important details about the event: the identity of the bride and the date of the marriage. However, extraneous sources provide useful but at times seemingly contradictory information.

Some historians accept the information recorded in the *Lyubech sino-dik* and claim that the bride's name was Killikiya.⁴¹ In the opinion of others Svyatoslav married a German countess named Oda, the daughter of Ida von Elstorp and a certain Lippold. This information is supported by German annalists and by the PVL. In 1075, we are told, Burchard, the Provost of Trier, was sent on a mission by Emperor Henry IV to Svyatoslav. He was especially well suited for the task because his sister, Oda, was married to Svyatoslav.⁴²

In the light of this evidence, how can the discrepancy between the two views—the one holding that Svyatoslav's wife was Killikiya and the other that she was Oda—be resolved? The answer lies in Oda's son. According to German sources she had one son, Yaroslav.⁴³ However, Svyatoslav, as we shall see, sired five sons. The clue to the solution lies in the portrait of Svyatoslav and his family preserved in the *"Izbornik of 1073."*⁴⁴ Four mature sons wearing beards are portrayed in the background. The princess is immediately to the right of Svyatoslav. In front of her stands

⁴¹ Zotov, pp. 33, 239, 256.

⁴² See below, p. 97. For a discussion of Oda's identity, see R. Bloch, "Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen des sächsischen Adels zum russischen Fürstenhause im XI. Jahrhundert," *Festschrift, Albert Brackmann*, ed. Leo Santifaller (Weimar, 1931), pp. 188-91; B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle*, (Paris, 1924), p. 163; D. Oljancyn, "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izyaslav-Demeter von Kiev (1054-1078)," *Jahrbucher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Band 8 (Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 402; N. Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiya monografii i izsledovaniya*, vol. 1 (Spb., 1863), p. 139; N. Kvashnin-Samarin, "Po povodu lyubetskago sinodika," *Chteniya*, bk 4 (M., 1874), p. 214.

⁴³ The sources wrongly call him Warteslaw (Bloch, "Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen," pp. 189-91).

⁴⁴ See frontispiece; see also frontispiece in *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda: Faksimil'noe izdanie*.

a fifth son, a child, over whose shoulder she places her hand as if in a protective gesture. Although the artist gives the names of all the other personages, he identifies the mother merely as "the princess." However, he makes a special effort to demonstrate the discrepancy in the ages between the four grown-up sons and the child. From this evidence we may conclude that Svyatoslav was married twice. The princess in the portrait is his second wife and the mother of his youngest son. Killikiya, who is identified by the Lyubech *sinodik*, was his first wife and the mother of his four eldest sons.⁴⁵

None of the sources record the dates of Svyatoslav's marriages. Nevertheless, his marriage to Killikiya can be ascertained to within a few years. We know that the marriages of Svyatoslav's elder brother Izyaslav and younger brother Vsevolod occurred around 1043 and 1047. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Svyatoslav's marriage was contracted between those of his brothers. This view is supported by the information that in 1064 Svyatoslav's eldest son Gleb was already fully grown and ruling Tmutarakan'.⁴⁶ Svyatoslav's second marriage occurred in the 1060s. This is suggested by the age of Oda's son Yaroslav; to judge from his size on the portrait (he came up to his mother's waist) he was from three to five years of age when the portrait was painted.⁴⁷

Oda was a German countess, but the sources do not tell us the ethnic origin of Svyatoslav's first wife. However, to judge from her name, Killikiya was probably a Greek. The Byzantine district of Cilicia in Asia Minor is known in Greek as Kilikia.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Bloch, "Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen," p. 192. See also Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, p. 163, and V. A. Moshin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantiyskie otnosheniya v XI-XII vv.," *Byzantinoslavica*, IX (Prague, 1947-48), p. 77. We may assume that the Lyubech *sinodik* neglected to record Oda's name because she returned to Saxony after Svyatoslav's death.

⁴⁶ Moshin, "Russkie na Afone," p. 77; Zotov, p. 256; Baum, I, 23, 26; cf. Hellman, "Die Heiratspolitik Jaroslavs des Weisen," p. 21.

⁴⁷ Cf. Leib who says Svyatoslav married Oda around 1070 (*Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, p. 163). Perhaps Svyatoslav took advantage of Izyaslav's absence from Kiev between September of 1068 and May of 1069 (Ipat., cols. 161, 163; Lav., cols. 171, 174) to arrange the marriage.

⁴⁸ See V. N. Achkasova and I. F. Tots'ka who, without giving evidence, also assert that Yaroslav's sons Svyatoslav and Vsevolod were married to Greek princesses (*Sofyis'kyi zapovidnik u Kyievi* [Kyiv, 1986], pp. 75-6). Cf. Moshin who suggested that Killikiya came from a Norman family of Southern Italy ("Russkie na

We may conclude that Svyatoslav married twice. His first marriage to Gillikiya took place between the years 1043 and 1047 when he was ruling in Vladimir. He took Oda as wife during the mid-sixties when he was prince of Chernigov.

According to the evidence of the family portrait, Svyatoslav had five sons. As has been suggested, the first wife bore him his four eldest ones and the second gave him his youngest son. This number is generally confirmed by the sources and accepted by most historians.⁴⁹

The chronicles fail to record the date of birth of even one son. These omissions have given rise to much confusion among historians concerning the genealogical seniority of the Svyatoslavichi. Many believe that the order of seniority was as follows: Gleb, Roman, David, Oleg, Yaroslav.⁵⁰

Despite the popularity of this genealogical order among historians, it is disproven by a contemporary source, Svyatoslav's *"Izbornik of 1073,"* a collection commissioned by Svyatoslav himself and which, as noted above, has the portrait of the prince and his family as its frontispiece. It was drawn by a contemporary who, we may assume, was a welcome guest at Svyatoslav's court and had firsthand knowledge of the prince's family. Since his readers, especially later generations, were unlikely to know the identities of his patron and his sons, the artist wrote each prince's name above his head. It is important to note that he placed Svyatoslav's sons in a different genealogical order to the one generally accepted by historians; his list reads as follows: Gleb, Oleg, David, Roman, (and the child) Yaroslav. Given the authority of the artist's credentials, his

Alone," p. 77).

⁴⁹ A number of historians claim there were six sons and wrongly add the alleged Boris; see Zotov, p. 260, and A. Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," *Russkiy biograficheskiy slovar'*, vol. 22 (Spb., 1905; Reprint, Kraus 1962), pp. 264-5.

⁵⁰ Zotov, pp. 257-9; Pogodin, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya*, p. 356; Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 (M., 1962), p. 737; Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, Table 3 and p. 588; Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," pp. 264-5; Baum, IV; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29; PC, Genealogical Table; Rapov, Genealogical Table 5; John Fennell, *The Crisis of Medieval Russia 1200-1304* (London, 1983), p. 175, Table 3, and others. See M. Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich and his Patronage of the Cult of SS. Boris and Gleb," *Medieval Studies*, 50 (Toronto, 1988), pp. 349, 358, 361, 366 where David is wrongly identified as being older than Oleg. Cf. B. A. Rybakov who gives the following order: Gleb, David, Roman, Oleg, Yaroslav (*Slovo o polku Igoreve i ego so vremenniki*, [M., 1971], genealogical table).

is the correct order of seniority.⁵¹ As a result, it is in the light of this genealogical order that we must examine Svyatoslav's territorial allocations to his sons, the sons' relationships to each other, and their policies to other families of Yaroslavichi.

Svyatoslav's daughters were not depicted on the portrait, and chronicles give inconclusive information on the subject. Therefore, it is difficult to determine their number. It is generally agreed that Svyatoslav had at least one daughter named Vysheslava who apparently married Boleslav II "the Bold" (*Smialy*) of the Poles.⁵² However, one view holds that Vysheslava was the elder of two daughters. It is based on a vague chronicle reference. Under the year 1116 we are told that "the nun Predslavna, related to Svyatoslav (*Svyatoslavna*), also died."⁵³ We can say for certain only that he had one daughter named Vysheslava.

Since the sources fail to provide information on Svyatoslav's early years and his young family in general, it is not surprising to discover that the births of his children are not recorded. If, as has been suggested, Svyatoslav married Killikiya between the years 1043 and 1047, his eldest son, Gleb, was born around 1049 at the latest (i.e., allowing for the possibility that Vysheslava was the firstborn of all Svyatoslav's children). Accordingly, Oleg, the second eldest, was born around 1050, David around

⁵¹ V. L. Yanin confirms that chroniclers' lists always named the princes in the order of their seniority ("Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya v epokhu Monomakha i 'Khozhdenie' igumena Daniila," *TODRL*, 16 [1960], p. 121). A number of historians accepted this order (D. Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Ryazanskogo knyazhestva* [M., 1858], p. 17; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 78, 81; Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, pp. 163-4). Cf. Kuchkin who gives the following list: Gleb, Oleg, Roman, David, and Yaroslav ("Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhdruknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 22). The sixteenth-century Polish author M. Strykowski has unique but, unfortunately, unreliable information. After reporting the death of Yaroslav's brother Sudislav (1063) he states: "Then Svyatoslav's son Oleg was born, and after him the second son David, and then the third son Gleb." (*Kronika Polska, Litewska, Zmudzka i Wszystkiej Rusi Macieja Strykowskiego*, vol. I, [first published 1582] [Warszawa, 1846; photoreproduction Warszawa, 1980], p. 167).

⁵² Zotov, p. 260; Baum, IV, 5, PC, Genealogical Table. Strykowski claimed she was the only daughter of an unnamed prince of Rus' (*Kronika Polska*, p. 164).

⁵³ Ipat., col. 284; Gust., p. 291. A number of historians suggest that Predslava was the religious name for Vysheslava who died as a nun in 1116 (Zotov, p. 260).

1051, and Roman around 1052.⁵⁴ Consequently, they were born before the death of their grandfather Yaroslav while their father was ruling Vladimir. The youngest son, Yaroslav, was born in the late 1060s of Svyatoslav's second wife Oda, when Svyatoslav was ruling Chernigov.

Given the silence of the chronicles concerning the births of Svyatoslav's sons, it comes as no surprise to learn they give no information about the formative years of the Svyatoslavichi. Nonetheless, a number of observations can be made. According to custom, it appears that at the age of three a young prince was usually placed on a horse, at the age of seven he was instructed to read and write, and at the age of twelve his father sent him on the first campaign. It was at this time that he was probably given a domain to govern under the watchful eye of a *posadnik*. At Svyatoslav's court his sons would undoubtedly have listened to bards recounting the exploits of princes and their *druzhinniki*, and perhaps read Byzantine texts which had been translated during the reign of their grandfather Yaroslav "the Wise."⁵⁵ We shall see that Svyatoslav was a lover of books and apparently had a handsome library. The later cultural achievements of his sons illustrate that he also successfully inculcated in his progeny a similar love of learning.

There is no evidence to suggest that Svyatoslav arranged marriages for any of his children before the death of his father, Yaroslav "the Wise." In fact, it is unlikely that he did in the light of Byzantine marriage laws. These were adopted (albeit not always observed) along with other Orthodox practices, after the Christianization of Rus' and, in particular, during the reign of Yaroslav. Byzantine law set low age restrictions for prospective couples. According to the ninth-century *Procheiron*, the youngest age

⁵⁴ These dates are supported by the births of the sons of Svyatoslav's elder and younger brother. Izyaslav's third eldest son Svyatopolk was born in 1050 (NPL, p. 16), and Vsevolod's eldest son Vladimir was born in 1053 (Ipat., col. 149; Lav., col. 160). Cf. a number of historians who suggest Oleg was born in 1055 or later (N. Kostomarov *Russkaya istoriya v zhizneopisaniyakh glavneyshikh deyateley*, vol. 1, third edition [Spb., 1888], p. 41; Zotov, p. 258; Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," p. 248; A. Poppe, "Oleg-Mikhail," SSS, vol. 3 [Wroclaw, Warszawa, Krakow, 1967], p. 475; N. P. Likhachev, *Materialy dlya istorii vizantiyskoy i russkoy sfragistiki*, vyp. I, *Trudy Muzeya paleografii*, vol. I [L., 1928], p. 83).

⁵⁵ B. A. Rybakov, *Peroye veka russkoy istorii* (M., 1964), p. 110.



**Fig. 1. View of the Chernigov escarpment from the Boldiny Hills
(Photograph courtesy of V. I. Mezentsev.)**

**Fig. 2. View of the Chernigov citadel and the confluence of the
rivers Strizhen' and Desna**





Fig. 3. The Church of the Assumption, Eletskiy Monastery, Chernigov

Fig. 4. View of the Il'inskiy-Troitskiy Monastery and the Church of St. Elias from the floodplain south of Chernigov





Fig. 5. The Church of St. Elias on the Boldiny Hills

Fig. 6. Aerial view of the Holy Saviour Cathedral and the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris (from V. Shkol'niy et al., *Vremeni nepodvlastno* [K., 1987])





Fig. 7. The Church of SS. Gleb and Boris in Chernigov

Fig. 8. The Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov





Fig. 9. Interior view of the Holy Saviour Cathedral



Fig. 10. View north from the Kiev escarpment: the Podol, the river Dnepr and the Vyschgorod escarpment (on the horizon)

Fig. 11. General view south of the Caves Monastery in Kiev





Fig. 12. The Church of the Holy Trinity in the Caves Monastery

Fig. 13. The Novgorod Severskiy escarpment, west bank of the Desna





**Fig. 14. The Cathedral
of St. Sofia in Kiev**



**Fig. 15. The south door
of the Church of
St. Cyril in Kiev**



**Fig. 16. A column with
a fresco of St. George
in the Church of St. Cyril**



**Fig. 17. A fresco depicting
five princes in the
Church of St. Cyril**



Fig. 18. A miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle showing Vsevolod Ol'govich of Kiev appointing his brother Svyatoslav to rule Novgorod



Fig. 19. A miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle illustrating the custom of kissing the Holy Cross



Fig. 20. A miniature from the Radziwill Chronicle depicting Prince Gleb killing a sorcerer with an axe



Fig. 21. A stone icon
of St. Gleb
(11th century)
found on the Taman'
Peninsula



Fig. 22. A miniature from the *Sil'vestrovskiy sbornik* showing
the transfer of St. Gleb's stone coffin by sledge (1072)

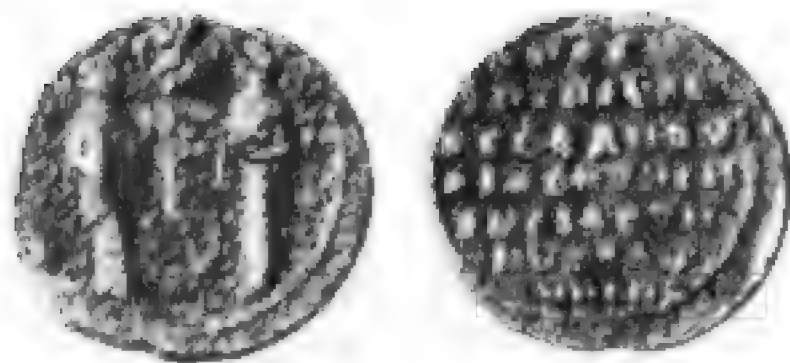


Fig. 23. A lead seal attributed to Oleg's wife Feofania Muzalon



Fig. 24. A silver coin with the image of Archangel Michael attributed to Oleg Svyatoslavich (d. 1115)



Fig. 25. A lead seal with the image of St. Nicholas attributed to Svyatoslav Yaroslavich (d. 1076)

for a bridegroom was fourteen years and twelve for the bride.⁵⁶ Accordingly, the year 1063 was the earliest when Svyatoslav's eldest son Gleb could be married. However, to judge from a lack of chronicle evidence (viz. references to his marriage or to his descendants) it appears that Gleb (and Roman) never married.

The first child for whom Svyatoslav contracted a marriage was his daughter Vysheslava. As noted above, he gave her away as wife to Boleslav II "the Bold" (d. 1081) of the Poles; this occurred around the year 1067, some twelve years after Svyatoslav occupied Chernigov.⁵⁷ His choice of husband demonstrates his political leanings. It is true that Svyatoslav may have been forced to seek a foreign groom because the majority of the princely candidates in Rus' were his nephews; however, he could have selected one of a number of different foreign rulers. Svyatoslav chose Boleslav probably because he had been prince of Vladimir for some fifteen years before moving to Chernigov and during that period he had established amicable relations with the neighbouring Poles.

C. THE TRIUMVIRATE

Yaroslav's death, unlike those of his father Vladimir and grandfather Svyatoslav, was not the signal for fratricidal feuds among his sons. On the contrary, it appeared to the people of Rus' as if his "reforms" successfully discouraged any upstart princeling from attempting to seize Kiev. To judge from chronicle information, none of his sons challenged Yaroslav's revised territorial allocations, and they all acknowledged Izyaslav's succession.

In addition, a special bond arose between the three eldest Yaroslavichi. They governed as one and created what has commonly become known as the triumvirate. Like their younger brothers, Svyatoslav and

⁵⁶ It is known that this work was available in Slavic translation and that its authority was recognized by the jurists of Rus' (G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* [New Haven, Conn., 1948], p. 312).

⁵⁷ Baum. IV, 5; PC, Genealogical Table. Cf. Dworzaczek who does not identify her as Boleslav's wife and gives the year 1069 (*Genealogia*, Tables 1). Strykowski says the year was 1058 (*Kronika Polska*, p. 164). Cf. Tat. who gives the year 1065 (vol. 4, p. 154; vol. 2, p. 84).

Vsevolod honoured their pledges of allegiance to the new "father," Iziaslav. The latter, for his part, was evidently willing to implement policies only after consulting his two younger brothers. However, the Yaroslavichi abused their power. Chronicle evidence shows that they failed to exercise their authority in the spirit of brotherly love advocated by their father: they forcibly appropriated the lands of the *izgoi*. During the first decade after Yaroslav's death the triumvirate demonstrated such high-handed action on five occasions. It is difficult, however, to determine what degree of leadership Iziaslav asserted in formulating its policies.

Iziaslav had a weak character: he lacked energy, decisiveness and breadth of vision. He failed effectively to assert his leadership over his two younger brothers. The three princes acted in accord not only out of deference to their father's moral counsel but also owing to the fact that Iziaslav lacked the assertive character necessary for establishing autocratic rule. It is highly improbable that he was solely responsible for initiating any of the triumvirate's policies.⁵⁸ At best, he did so on the advice of his boyars, many of whom had formerly served his father Yaroslav.

Moreover, his brother Svyatoslav, prince of Chernigov, would demonstrate brilliant leadership in military conflicts, initiative in politics, and inspiration in promoting culture. It is reasonable to assume that he was one of the main motivating forces, if not the actual architect, of many of the policies adopted by the members of the "inner circle." Since Svyatoslav was the progenitor of the Chernigov dynasty, and since these policies directly influenced the history of his descendants, we must examine the triumvirate's infractions of Yaroslav's "testament."

In 1057 Vyacheslav of Smolensk, the youngest Yaroslavich, died.⁵⁹ The reason for his premature death is not reported. He was survived by his son Boris who, according to Yaroslav's allocation of patrimonies, should have succeeded his father to Smolensk.⁶⁰ However, his three eldest

⁵⁸ Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 62.

⁵⁹ *Ipat.*, col. 151; *Lav.*, col. 162. According to the PVL Vyacheslav was younger than Igor' (s.a. 1055, *Ipat.*, col. 151; *Lav.*, col. 162; NPL, p. 182), but many historians wrongly identify Igor' as the younger brother (Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, Genealogical Table; Baum, I; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 21; Rapov, Table I; Fennell, *The Crisis*, Table I, and others).

⁶⁰ Boris was killed in 1078 (*Ipat.*, col. 192; *Lav.*, col. 201). Concerning his right of succession see Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 381-2.

uncles prevented this; they also prohibited a *posadnik* from ruling the town in his name since, as was most likely the case, Boris was still a minor.⁶¹ Instead, they confiscated Vyacheslav's patrimony therewith violating Yaroslav's injunction not to trespass upon the domains of one another. This was their first violation of the "testament."

Second, they forced their younger brother Igor' to move from his patrimony of Vladimir in Volynia to the now vacant and politically less important Smolensk.⁶² The sources do not report to whom the triumvirate gave Vladimir, but since, according to Yaroslav's allocations, no other prince had a claim to the town, it undoubtedly reverted to the "throne of Yaroslav," that is, it became part of the common domain of Kiev administered by Izyaslav.⁶³ Control over the entire domain of Vladimir, in addition to Kiev and Turov, would place most of the right bank into Izyaslav's hands. Therefore, we may assume that Svyatoslav and Vsevolod demanded a share of the spoils lest Izyaslav become disproportionately powerful.

There is evidence to support this claim.⁶⁴ As senior prince, Izyaslav

⁶¹ Cf. Novgorod where Izyaslav sent a *posadnik* to rule in place of the minor Rostislav (Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 382).

⁶² Ipat., col. 151; Lav., col. 162. According to Vladimir's allocation of domains (s.a. 988), the town of Vladimir was more important than Smolensk to judge from the evidence that Smolensk is not even mentioned (NPL, p. 159; cf. Ipat., cols. 105-6; Lav., col. 121). Yaroslav, as we have seen, considered Vladimir to be the third most important town after Novgorod and Turov. Cf. Yanin who claims Smolensk was more important than Vladimir ("Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 114).

⁶³ Kuchkin observes that in 1068, according to the *Russkaya Pravda*, the citizens of Dorogobuzh (on the river Goryn' in the domain of Vladimir in Volynia) killed Izyaslav's groom. Therefore, Izyaslav probably obtained control of the lands of Vladimir between the time of Igor's eviction and 1068 ("Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 24-5). In 1078, after Izyaslav's death, Vsevolod confirmed the appointment of Izyaslav's eldest son Yaropolk to Vladimir (s.a. 1078, Ipat., col. 195; Lav., col. 204) presumably, because Izyaslav already controlled the town as prince of Kiev; see also Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 115-6.

⁶⁴ Shcherbatov believed that, in 1057, the princes reached a new agreement concerning the allocation of domains; if they had not, he argues, the PVL would have reported internecine strife (*Istoriya Rossiyskaya*, col. 9). This view is supported by the information that, at a later date, the princes divided Smolensk and its lands into three parts.

had first claim to Vladimir; therefore, he probably occupied the capital and a number of important towns (e.g., Dorogobuzh) nearby. His interest in the territory was the strongest; the lands of Vladimir lay next to Turov, his own patrimony, and to Kiev where he was prince. By controlling Vladimir, Izyaslav could protect the borders of the other two domains, particularly from attacks of the Poles. Svyatoslav's interests in Vladimir were different. His main concern was to prevent Izyaslav from obtaining control of the entire west bank of the Dnepr. In addition, Svyatoslav had ruled there for over fifteen years before Yaroslav moved him to Chernigov. As a result, he probably had a personal attachment to the region as well as a firsthand appreciation of its economic resources. Finally, Vsevolod's interests in the domain were merely political; he wished to prevent Izyaslav from becoming too powerful and he wanted to have a share of the spoils. The nature of the division is not recorded by the PVL.⁶⁵

Thus we see that after Vyacheslav's death Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod violated Yaroslav's "testament" a second time by evicting Igor from his patrimony and transferring him to one of less importance. We are not told what, if any, compensation they made to their nephew Boris whom they deprived of Smolensk.

Two years later, in 1059, they violated Yaroslav's counsel a third time. At first glance, their action appeared praiseworthy. They released their uncle Sudislav whom their father Yaroslav had imprisoned twenty four years earlier in Pskov.⁶⁶ Their behaviour may have been motivated, at least in part, by humanitarian considerations, but they drove a hard bargain with the unfortunate man. He was released from prison on the condition that he swear an oath to them and spend the rest of his days in a monastery. They confined him to the Monastery of St. George near the

⁶⁵ Vsevolod's son Monomakh writes in his "Instruction" that, before Izyaslav's second expulsion from Kiev (1073), he sent Monomakh to Vladimir on political and evidently administrative errands (Lav., col. 247). This suggests either that Vsevolod had been given territories in the region of Vladimir or that the princes of the triumvirate shared responsibilities for administering the domain.

⁶⁶ Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 371; cf. Hrushevsky who claims Sudislav was imprisoned in Kiev (*Ocherk*, p. 62). See also A. A. Molchanov, "Novgorodskie sobytiya 1054-1064 gg. i vozniknovenie posadnichestva novogo tipa," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, Seriya IX, Istoriya, no. 6. (1974), p. 82.

Cathedral of St. Sofia, in Kiev, where he died.⁶⁷

Sudislav had received Pskov as his patrimony from his father Vladimir. As long as he was alive the Yaroslavichi could not claim jurisdiction over Pskov. They undoubtedly forced him to pledge allegiance to Izyaslav and, to judge from the information that he was then confined to a monastery, they also required him to relinquish his claim to Pskov. In effect, the triumvirate agreed to release him from prison on the condition that he renounce all his political rights.⁶⁸ Since he had no heirs (at any rate the sources do not mention any) Pskov, like Vladimir, became part of the common patrimony controlled by the prince of Kiev. Izyaslav, in consultation with his two brothers, could dispose of it as he wished. The chronicles do not tell us the fate of Pskov, but it was evidently incorporated into the lands of Novgorod.⁶⁹

Under the following year, 1060, the chronicle reports laconically that Igor' died in Smolensk. He was survived by two sons, David and Vsevolod.⁷⁰ According to Yaroslav's bequest, they were the rightful heirs to their father's patrimony. However, their uncles had different plans. The triumvirate denied the Igorevichi control of Vladimir which Igor' had received as his patrimony from Yaroslav, and of Smolensk which had been forced upon Igor' by the triumvirate. Instead "the Yaroslavichi divided up [the lands of] Smolensk for themselves into three parts."⁷¹

No source explains the nature of the division; we are told neither what territories went to whom nor whether the allocations were for a limited period of time or were permanent. It has been suggested, persuasively, that portions of the Smolensk domain were annexed to Svyatoslav's territories of Chernigov and to Vsevolod's lands in the Rostov region. The town of Smolensk itself reverted to the control of the prince of Kiev who

⁶⁷ Ipat., col. 151; Lav., col. 162; cf. NPL, p. 183 which states that Sudislav took "an oath of allegiance and kissed the cross." Concerning his death in 1063 see Ipat., col. 152 and Lav., col. 163.

⁶⁸ One view has it, wrongly, that Sudislav should have succeeded Yaroslav to Kiev and that the Yaroslavichi made him renounce that claim (Lind, "The 'Brotherhood' of Rus'," p. 73; see also Dimnik, "The 'Testament'," pp. 372-3).

⁶⁹ A. N. Nasonov, *"Russkaya zemlya" i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva* (M., 1951), p. 81.

⁷⁰ Ipat., col. 151; Lav., cols. 162-3.

⁷¹ See s.a. 1060: Tver., col. 153; Erm., p. 22; s.a. 1054: Sof. I, p. 131; Novg., 4, p. 118.

appointed a lieutenant to rule it.⁷²

Nor does the PVL mention what territorial provisions, if any, the "inner circle" made for the two Igorevichi. Were they given any towns in compensation for their loss of Smolensk, or did the triumvirate appropriate the domains of their deceased brothers Igor' and Vyacheslav outright? In either case, the triumvirate once again disobeyed Yaroslav's directive on brotherly love and his patrimonial bequests.

The fifth time the Yaroslavichi violated their father's "testament" was in Novgorod. As noted above, Yaroslav bequeathed it to his son Vladimir who predeceased him by some two years. Vladimir was survived by his son Rostislav who, as the eldest son, had the right of succession to his father's patrimony. Evidently, he was unable to assume authority during Yaroslav's lifetime because he was still a minor. Just the same, Yaroslav acknowledged Rostislav's right of succession because he refused to send another prince to Novgorod. After Izyaslav occupied Kiev in 1055 he appointed his *posadnik*, Ostromir, to administer the town in Rostislav's stead, probably, in the manner done by Yaroslav. Ostensibly, Ostromir would govern Novgorod until Rostislav came of age at which time Izyaslav would relinquish control.⁷³ The evidence of the chronicles reveals, however, that Izyaslav failed to fulfill this obligation. We are told that in 1064 Rostislav fled to Tmutarakan'.⁷⁴

The PVL neglects to report where the prince fled from. However, the

⁷² Yanin, who made this observation, disagrees with the historians who claim that Smolensk became a permanent part of Vsevolod's patrimony of Pereyaslavl' after the death of Igor'. This happened, he argues convincingly, at a later date. It is important that in his "Instruction" Vsevolod's son Monomakh reports several of his administrative tours of Smolensk; significantly, in each instance he was sent there by the prince of Kiev ("Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 115-6). Cf. Kuchkin who questions the truth of the chronicle report and claims that the division of Smolensk is not verified by later information ("Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 25-6).

⁷³ Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 381-2. Cf. Klyuchevsky who wrongly claims that Rostislav's uncles gave him the Rostov region in Vsevolod's domains (*Kurs russkoy istorii*, chast' 1, pp. 206-8).

⁷⁴ Lav., col. 163. During the second half of the eleventh century Tmutarakan' became a popular sanctuary for *izgoi* princes. Although the domain belonged to Chernigov, its great distance from the territories of Rus' made it difficult for the prince of Chernigov to prevent debarred princes from seizing it (Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 511).

information that Rostislav was accompanied by a certain Porey and Vyshata, the son of Novgorod's *posadnik* Ostromir, suggests he fled from his patrimony.⁷⁵ The chronicle also neglects to explain the reason for Rostislav's flight; most likely, the evidence was incriminating for his patron, Izyaslav. It is reasonable to assume that, on coming of age, Rostislav demanded to be given authority over his patrimonial domain. Izyaslav's lieutenant refused and therewith alienated Rostislav. He was forced to flee for fear of reprisals from Izyaslav and the triumvirate.⁷⁶

Rostislav's expulsion was a turning point in a number of political relationships. Novgorod lost its local dynasty, the family of Vladimir Yaroslavich, and the prince of Kiev secured the right to designate his man to Novgorod.⁷⁷ In the future, the princes of Novgorod would be outsiders, lieutenants of the prince of Kiev. Unlike the local dynastic princes whose main responsibility had been to Novgorod, Izyaslav's appointees would be responsible to him first. Every future prince of Novgorod would administer it as a trust for the prince who appointed him rather than as his own

⁷⁵ Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 382. See also Shcherbatov *Istoriya Rossiyskaya*, col. 12; M. P. Pogodin, "Mezhdousobnyya voyny 1055-1240," *Vremennik*, bk 2 (M., 1849), p. 52. Cf. Solov'ev who says Rostislav fled from Vladimir (*Istoriya otnosheniy*, p. 78). Klyuchevsky claims that after Igor's death in Smolensk [1060] Rostislav wished to move from Vladimir to Smolensk. His uncles prevented him so he seized Tmutarakan' instead (*Kurs russkoy istorii*, chast' 1, p. 209).

⁷⁶ Under the year 1054, a number of chronicles report that Ostromir was killed in battle (Sof. I, p. 139; Mosk., p. 379). However, V. L. Yanin correctly observes that the information is wrong since the copyist of the so-called *Ostromir Gospel* reports that Ostromir commissioned the work in 1056-57. Therefore, he was killed around or soon after that date, but before 1064 (*Novgorodskie posadniki* [M., 1962], p. 49). Ostromir was replaced by Zavid (sic) who, in turn, was evidently replaced by his son Dmitr (NPL, p. 471, cf. p. 164). This suggests that Ostromir's son Vyshata was an opponent of his father's successor since Vyshata himself probably hoped to succeed his father as *posadnik* (Molchanov, "Novgorodskie sobytiya 1054-1064 gg.," pp. 85-7).

⁷⁷ After Vladimir died (1052) Izyaslav appointed his son Mstislav to Novgorod. Later, Mstislav was defeated in battle and fled to Kiev (NPL, pp. 161, 470). The earliest Izyaslav had authority to appoint his lieutenant to Novgorod was in 1054 after he occupied Kiev. In that year he sent Ostromir to Novgorod; he died around 1056-57. Therefore, 1057 is the earliest Mstislav could have become prince of Novgorod. He departed from Novgorod in 1067 and died two years later as prince of Polotsk (Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, pp. 49-50). Thus we see that Izyaslav sent Mstislav to Novgorod between the years 1057 and 1067, and that his appointment may well have been connected with Rostislav's flight in 1064.

patrimony. Moreover, Rostislav became debarred from Novgorod when Izyaslav (i.e., the triumvirate) usurped control of the patrimony bequeathed to Rostislav's father by Yaroslav "the Wise." This meant that Rostislav's fate became identical to the one shared by the sons of Igor' and Vyacheslav.

There is no chronicle information to suggest that either Svyatoslav or Vsevolod criticized Izyaslav for his treatment of Rostislav. Therefore, we may assume that Izyaslav was not acting unilaterally when he violated Rostislav's patrimonial right. Svyatoslav and Vsevolod shared the blame with him yet again for transgressing their father's "testament."

One source actually states that in the mid sixties only three of Yaroslav's sons were still alive, the eldest Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and the youngest Vsevolod, and that they divided the land between them. Izyaslav took Kiev, Novgorod, and many other Kievan towns within the boundaries of Rus'; Svyatoslav controlled Chernigov and the entire eastern bank of the Dnepr as far as Murom;⁷⁸ and Vsevolod had Pereyaslavl', Rostov, Suzdal', Beloozero, and the Volga region (Povolzh'e).⁷⁹

Over a period of seven years, therefore, the princes of the "inner circle" appropriated the patrimonial domains of their uncle Sudislav and their brothers Vladimir, Igor', and Vyacheslav. Their ruthless policy enabled them to establish their rule over all the lands of Rus' except Polotsk which their grandfather Vladimir had given to Izyaslav, their father's elder brother.

The triumvirate's systematic appropriation of domains suggests that the brothers followed a predetermined plan of action. Since they were calculating in their designs and abused their political supremacy we may well ask just how ruthless they were prepared to be. Did they abuse their power to the extent of becoming implicated in foul play? It is curious to note that the two youngest Yaroslavichi died first and only a few years after Yaroslav. Their deaths conveniently expedited the territorial consolidation of their elder brothers.

⁷⁸ For the early history of Murom see E. I. Goryunova, "K istorii gorodov severo-vostochnoy Rusi," *KSIIMK*, vyp. 59 (1955), pp. 12-4.

⁷⁹ NPL, pp. 160, 469. Neither Vladimir nor Smolensk are mentioned. Most likely, they were among the towns Izyaslav controlled "within the boundaries" (*v predelekh*) of Rus'. Tmutarakan' which was part of Svyatoslav's domain (see below) is also not mentioned.

Moreover, was it merely coincidence that both princes died in Smolensk, or does the same location create grounds for suspicion? Did the Yaroslavichi transfer Igor' to Smolensk so that he, like his brother, could be eliminated there by their henchmen? The failure of the sources to give any explanations for the deaths of the two princes adds to the mystery. In support of the triumvirate's innocence it must be noted that neither the chroniclers nor the Igorevichi ever levied accusations against the Yaroslavichi. However, we cannot ignore the possibility that such information was expunged by pro-Yaroslavichi scribes.

By unscrupulously violating their father's injunction prohibiting them from usurping a brother's domain, the three Yaroslavichi set a dangerous precedent. After eliminating all the *izgoi* princes as potential rivals, the danger arose that the members of the triumvirate might turn against each other. Fortunately for Rus', the brothers resolved to live in harmony for some twenty years. During that period, to judge from the PVL, their main objectives were to assert their authority over the indigenous peoples living in their domains and to defend the latter against the attacks of nomadic invaders.

To be sure, the need to present a united defense against foreign enemies was one of the main reasons why the Yaroslavichi continued to co-operate. This need presented itself soon after Igor's death. In the winter of 1060 the princes of Rus' for the first time successfully conducted a joint campaign. The Yaroslavichi, accompanied by Vseslav of Polotsk, marched against the Torki, a nomadic people living in the steppe south of Kiev in the vicinity of the river Ros'. The princes set out with an "innumerable" number of troops travelling on horseback and in boats. When the tribesmen heard of the approaching host they fled in panic and perished: some from the winter cold, some from hunger, and some from pestilence. In this manner, explains the chronicler, God spared the Christians from the pagans.⁸⁰

Besides the obvious benefits the Yaroslavichi derived from eliminating a bothersome enemy, the campaign was significant for a number of additional reasons. There is no evidence to show that the Yaroslavichi expedition was retaliatory in nature. It appears that, in accord with their policy of consolidation, the brothers wished to rid their southern frontiers of this permanent threat to their safety; it was they, therefore, who

⁸⁰ Ipat., cols. 151-2; Lav., col. 163.

launched an offensive campaign. This was also the first occasion on which the triumvirate was called upon to produce a united army for a common purpose. Indeed, it was the largest force the princes had ever mustered. Their success demonstrated to the enemy and to the other princes of Rus' the triumvirate's resoluteness of purpose and the effectiveness of its military power.

Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the princes acted in alliance with Vseslav of Polotsk, the descendant of Yaroslav's elder brother Iziaslav. He was the only truly autonomous ruler in Rus': as a non-Yaroslavich Vseslav fell outside the jurisdiction of Yaroslav's "testament" and the authority (at least in principle) of the prince of Kiev. This also meant that he had no right of succession to Kiev. Consequently, the triumvirate's pact with Vseslav is striking in the light of future animosity between the two families.

We see, therefore, that on the national level the three Yaroslavichi found it expedient to work in harmony. They not only co-operated in protecting their lands from foreign enemies, but also used their joint authority unscrupulously to increase the size of the patrimonies they had inherited from their father Yaroslav.

D. SVYATOSLAV'S PATRIMONY

Svyatoslav was the first resident prince of Chernigov after his uncle Mstislav (d. 1034). His reign, however, was different from that of his predecessor in one important way. On the one hand, in 1024 after Mstislav defeated his elder brother Yaroslav he became the autonomous ruler of Chernigov; he was subject to neither Yaroslav nor Kiev. On the other hand, Svyatoslav, according to the terms of Yaroslav's "testament," was bound by familial and political ties to the senior prince of the family. Just the same, he was content with the arrangement to judge from the information that for almost twenty years after his father's death Svyatoslav remained loyal to Iziaslav.

Like Mstislav, Svyatoslav made Chernigov his capital. During his first years there he inevitably devoted much of his energy to organizing the administration of his newly created principality. For example, he introduced a new symbol of identification for his domain. He himself placed it on lead seals and wax seals. Bronze medallions with the mark were worn by some officials around their necks and others wore the symbol on

their belts and weapons. The sign decorated the banners flying above the heads of Svyatoslav's soldiers in battle. Ingots of silver exported from Chernigov were branded with his symbol. Brick and tile makers, potters and silversmiths labelled their products in this manner. In short, all Svyatoslav's possessions, including livestock and land were signed with his mark of ownership.⁸¹

As prince of Chernigov and later as prince of Kiev, Svyatoslav also issued his own seals. It is impossible to establish conclusively whether any of the ones discovered to date belonged to him. A number believed to have been struck between the years 1054 and 1076 are possible candidates. On the one side is the image of St. Nicholas of Myra in Licia, Svyatoslav's patron saint. On the other is the standing figure of the prince holding a long cross which, evidently, is attached to a stand on the ground.⁸² There is as yet no evidence that Svyatoslav issued coins.

In addition to organizing the internal administration of his domain, Svyatoslav also had to assert his authority over the different indigenous tribes and to secure his boundaries. The PVL fails to give an accurate description of Svyatoslav's patrimony. Under that year 1054 we are merely told that Yaroslav gave him Chernigov. Under the following year, the

⁸¹ The nature of princely signs has been studied inadequately to date. Although Svyatoslav had one it has not yet been positively identified (Rybakov, B. A., "Znaki sobstvennosti v knyazheskom khozaystve Kievskoy Rusi X-XII vv.," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, 6 (M.-L., 1940), pp. 231, 248, 257; A. V. Oreshnikov, "Klassifikatsiya drevneyshikh russkikh monet po rodovym znakam," *Izvestiya Akademii nauk SSSR*, VII seriya, Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk, no. 2 (L., 1930), pp. 106-7; Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, pp. 148-9).

⁸² V. L. Yarin, *Aktovye pechaty Drevney Rusi X-XV vv.*, vol. 1, *Pechati X-nachala XIII v.* (M., 1970), pp. 34-5; N. A. Makarov and A. V. Chernetsov, "Sfragisticheskie materialy iz Beloozera," *Drevnosti Slavyan i Rusi* (M., 1988), p. 237. Lead seals attributed to Svyatoslav have also been found in Novgorod Severskiy (V. P. Kovalenko, A. V. Kuza, R. S. Orlov, "Raskopki v Novgorode-Severskom," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1979 goda*, [M., 1980], p. 281) and in Sosnitsa, a town located east of Chernigov (V. P. Kovalenko and O. V. Shekun, "Litopysna Sosnytsia," *Mymule Sosnytsi ta ii okoltyts* [Chernihiv, 1990], pp. 10-11; see illustration, no. 25). On Byzantine seals the "cross potent" or "patriarchal cross" signifies sovereignty and is held either by the emperor or co-emperors (G. Zacos and A. Vegler, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 1, part 1 [Basel, 1972], nos. 26, 29, 76 and others). Svyatoslav evidently copied the Byzantine model; since he is depicted holding the "cross potent" this may signify that he was prince of Kiev when he issued these seals.

chronicler again simply states that Svyatoslav occupied Chernigov.⁸³ Only one chronicle gives a small but important additional item of information. After the death of Igor' the three Yaroslavichi divided up the land of Rus' among them and "Svyatoslav took Chernigov and the entire eastern side [of the Dnepr] as far as Murom."⁸⁴

From this information we can draw a general picture of Svyatoslav's principality. In the west the river Dnepr formed its boundary from the spot where the Teterev flows into it in the south and the Druť flows into it in the north. The northern border ran from the mouth of the Druť along the river Ugra; it crossed the lower reaches of the Protva, Lopasna, and the Moskva, ran parallel to the Klyaz'ma and ended to the north of Murom in the region where the Oka turns to the north. In the steppes to the east of Murom where the lands of the Kama Bulgars and the Mordva were located, the boundaries were less clearly defined. The southeast frontiers, the ones most vulnerable to nomadic incursions, lay in the region of the rivers Voronezh and Don. From there the southern border ran west (parallel to the Seym) crossing the upper reaches of the rivers Psel and Sula; it followed the course of the Oster to its mouth in the region of Osterskiy Gorodets near the Desna. In the territory between the lower course of the Desna and the Dnepr north of Kiev the Chernigov boundary was protected by its outposts Lutava and Moraviysk.⁸⁵

In addition to Chernigov which has already been discussed, we have little information concerning the towns that existed in Svyatoslav's principality at the time of his father's death. A few of these (e.g., Lyubech, Novgorod Severskiy, etc.) will be discussed below since they play an important part in our investigation. However, a number also deserve special mention at this time.

Murom on the Oka was the eastern outpost of Svyatoslav's patrimo-

⁸³ See s.a. 1054: Ipat., col. 150; Lav., col. 161; NPL, p. 182; s.a. 1055: Ipat., col. 151; Lav., col. 162; NPL, p. 182.

⁸⁴ NPL, p. 160.

⁸⁵ See map, no. 5. See also Rapov, p. 45, and Rychka, *Formirovanie territorii Kievskoy zemli*, pp. 74-5. It should be noted that up to the 1090s there is little chronicle information concerning Svyatoslav's patrimony. The boundaries described here are based, in the main, on evidence provided towards the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century when princes cited patrimonial rights in support of their territorial claims (Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 76).

ny. It was an important commercial center because of its geographical proximity to the tribes of the Mordva and the Kama Bulgars. Significantly, before Yaroslav's death it was not affiliated with Chernigov. As we have seen, at the beginning of the eleventh century Yaroslav's father Vladimir bequeathed it to Yaroslav's younger brother Gleb. At that time, evidently, no direct routes existed between Chernigov and Murom; indeed, the latter had closer ties with Rostov.

This relationship changed after Svyatoslav assumed control of the entire east side as far as Murom. As he began to collect tribute from the region he had to establish new routes across the steppes from Chernigov to Murom. Just the same, there is no chronicle evidence to show that Svyatoslav himself visited Murom. Probably, he sent a son or one of his lieutenants (like Yan Vyshatich whom, as we shall see, he sent to Beloozero) to administer the territory on his behalf.⁸⁶ It is highly probable that Svyatoslav also founded or fortified other towns in this region, for example, Ryazan', Pereyaslavl' Ryazanskiy, and Pronsk.⁸⁷

Kursk played an important part in the history of Svyatoslav's family. It was located some two hundred miles east of Chernigov on the river Tuskora (a tributary of the Seym) where the stream Kur flows into it.⁸⁸ The first reference to it in the sources is found in Nestor's "Life of Feodosy." We are told that after the birth of Feodosy (the future abbot of the Caves Monastery of Kiev), his father was transferred to Kursk by the prince of Kiev, presumably, Yaroslav. The same account also reports that the town was located on an important trade route: caravans, after traveling from Kiev to Kursk for three weeks, would then continue to the Holy Land.⁸⁹

The first chronicle reference to Kursk is made under the year 1095 at which time it belonged to Vsevolod's grandson Izyaslav. Under the following year Vsevolod's son Vladimir also speaks of Kursk in his "Instruction"; however, he refers to an undetermined year before 1096 when the town

⁸⁶ Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," pp. 197-9; A. L. Mongayt, *Ryazanskaya zemlya* (M., 1961), pp. 247-8, 334.

⁸⁷ Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 134-5.

⁸⁸ Semenov, vol. 2 (1863), p. 870; G. N. Anpilov, "O gorode Kurske X-XVI vv.," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, seriya 8, *Istoriya*, no. 5 (M., 1979), p. 43.

⁸⁹ *Paterik Pecherskiy*, p. 22; *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 74-5, 79; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 337.

belonged to Vsevolod.⁹⁰

This information is evidently contradicted by another chronicle entry. As we have seen, after the death of Igor', when the three Yaroslavichi partitioned the lands of Rus' among them, Svyatoslav took the entire east side as far as Murom. According to this evidence, Kursk belonged to Svyatoslav.⁹¹ Because the PVL fails to state clearly to whom Yaroslav bequeathed Kursk, Svyatoslav or Vsevolod, the seemingly contradictory accounts have given rise to disagreements among historians; one group claims Svyatoslav inherited Kursk and another says Vsevolod got it.⁹²

Strong evidence supports the argument that Yaroslav bequeathed Kursk to Svyatoslav. The NPL account states that Svyatoslav inherited the east side of the Dnepr as far as Murom; Kursk falls into this territory. An examination of Chernigov's southern boundary reveals that it runs in an eastwardly direction to the river Psel in a parallel line to the Seym, but well to the south of it. However, Kursk was located on the north bank of the Seym. We must also remember that the princes of Rus', as a rule, selected natural obstacles such as rivers, hills, and swamps to designate boundaries. Therefore, it would have been highly irregular for Yaroslav to make the Chernigov-Pereyaslavl' boundary run north from the Psel almost at a right angle, and make it intersect the Seym at a seemingly arbitrary point. Furthermore, Svyatoslav controlled Tmutarakan' on the Black Sea coast. His most direct route to it from Chernigov was to pass through the territory of Kursk. It is most unlikely that Yaroslav would have denied Svyatoslav this access by giving Kursk to Vsevolod.

An additional reason, but one which has not been used by historians in the past, supports the claim that Svyatoslav and not Vsevolod inherited Kursk. Under the year 1152, a chronicle account refers to the town Ol'gov

⁹⁰ Lav., cols. 229, 247. See below, pp. 193-4.

⁹¹ NPL, pp. 160, 469; V. A. Kuchkin, *Formirovanie gosudarstvennoy territorii severovostochnoy Rusi v X-XIV vv.* (M., 1984), p. 60.

⁹² For example, Solov'ev argued that Svyatoslav got Kursk (*Istoriya Rossii*, bk 1, vol. 1 [M. 1959], pp. 277-8), but most investigators claim Vsevolod inherited it (Pogodin, "Mezhdousobnyya voyny 1055-1240," bk 2, p. 32; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 62-3; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 89-90, 94; V. A. Kuchkin, "Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya 60-kh godov XI veka," *Voprosy istorii*, 11 (M., 1985), p. 24).

located on the north bank of the Seym between Kursk and Glukhov.⁹³ Since it existed in 1152 the town was named after a prince who lived before that date.⁹⁴ Although none of Vsevolod's sons bore that name, Svyatoslav's second eldest son was Oleg. Svyatoslav probably named the town after him.⁹⁵

Significantly, there is also an outpost on the southern frontier of the Chernigov lands (between Belavezha and Popash) named Glebl'.⁹⁶ Since Svyatoslav's eldest son was Gleb, it is reasonable to assume that the prince named it after his firstborn. Furthermore, since he founded the town on the southern frontier of his patrimony this suggests that he intended it to be an outpost to defend that border against nomadic incursions. The same was probably true for Ol'gov. It served as a fort on the Seym to protect that border against enemy attacks. As a result, we may conclude that the upper reaches of the Seym, including the towns of Ol'gov and Kursk, were part of Svyatoslav's patrimony.

At first, before his sons came of age, Svyatoslav sent his lieutenants, the *posadniki*, to administer the towns. Although there is no direct evidence, it appears that as each son came of age Svyatoslav appointed him to rule an important town, probably, as his patrimony. This practice is suggested by the account given in the PVL under the year 1064 in which we learn that Svyatoslav had appointed Gleb to govern Tmutarakan' at an unspecified date before that year.⁹⁷ Significantly, the only reason Gleb is mentioned in the chronicle is because the scribe thought it worthwhile to report a crisis that occurred in Tmutarakan'. The information is fortuitous.

⁹³ Ipat., col. 456. Today Ol'gov is known as L'gov (Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 228, and Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 157).

⁹⁴ After founding a town a prince often named it after himself (using either his secular name or that of his patron saint), or, similarly, after a son (Rapov, pp. 222-3).

⁹⁵ Oleg's son Svyatoslav also had a son Oleg (Baum. IV, 27), but the latter is a less likely candidate in the light of circumstantial evidence.

⁹⁶ Glebl' is first mentioned s.a. 1147 (Ipat., col. 358). See also Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," pp. 223-4; P. V. Golubovsky, "Gde nakhodilis' sushchestvovavshie v domongol'skiy period goroda: Vorgol, Glebl', Zartyy, Orgoshch', Snovesk, Unenezh, Khorobor?" Zh.M.N.P., chast' CCCXXXVII [347] (v) (1903), p. 116. For the report of an archaeological excavation of the site see V. P. Kovalenko, "Issledovanie letopisnykh gorodov na Chernigovshchine," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1981 goda* (M., 1983), pp. 268-9.

⁹⁷ Lav., cols. 163-4; Ipat., col. 152.

Consequently, it is highly probable that Svyatoslav gave his other sons domains as well. The fact that the PVL fails to report this information does not contradict our view; it may simply mean that in their domains the other sons, unlike Gleb, had no troubles which the chronicler considered to be noteworthy.

The news that Svyatoslav controlled Tmutarakan' is important for another reason. No reference is made to it in Yaroslav's "testament." This is the first time we are told that, in addition to the territories east of the Dnepr as far as Murom, Svyatoslav also ruled Tmutarakan'. It was located on the Taman' peninsula at the Straits of Kerch' between the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea.⁹⁸ Of all the towns under Svyatoslav's jurisdiction Tmutarakan' was unique in that it was located over three hundred miles to the south of the Chernigov lands proper. In order to reach it one could go up the Seym beyond Kursk, cross over to the Severskiy Donets and follow its course south, across the open steppe, to the Sea of Azov.

Tmutarakan's name was given to it in the seventh or eighth century by the Khazars. The Turkic "Tuman-Tarkan" or "Taman-Tarkan" evidently was transposed into the Greek "Matrakha" and the Slavic "Tmutarakan'." Located close to the Greek emporium of Fanagoria, it became a colony of Kiev through conquest so that the Slavs who settled in it around the eleventh century constituted only a small portion of its population. The town's excellent strategic location and its port facilities enabled the first prince, Mstislav, to control the shipping that passed through the Straits of Kerch'. He also collected tribute from the Kasogians, Yasians, and other tribes living in the northern Caucasus. Tmutarakan' became an important

⁹⁸ On occasion, it is referred to as "the island of Tmutarakan" (*Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 36, 45). Pogodin explained the town was cut off from the mainland by the two estuaries of the river Kuban, one flowing into the Sea of Azov and the other into the Black Sea (*Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do mongol'skogo iga*, p. 403). It is interesting to note that one atlas (1896) has the main estuary of the Kuban' river flowing into the Black Sea, and another atlas (1969) has the main mouth flowing into the Sea of Azov (*Geograficheskiy atlas Tovarishchestva 'Prosveshchenie'*, ed. S. N. Nikitin [Spb., 1896], No. 65; *Atlas SSSR*, second edition, gen. ed. A. N. Varanov [M., 1969], p. 19). Finally, in 1826 a news item in the newspaper *Moscow Telegraph* reported an earthquake on the Taman' peninsula as happening on "the island of Taman" (K. K. Gerts, *Arkheologicheskaya topografiya Tamanskogo Poluostrova*, 2nd edition [Spb., 1898], p. 154; he cites the *Moskovskiy Telegraf*, No. 9, May [1826] May, p. 6).

trading center where merchants from Rus' purchased such items as cloth, weapons, ornaments and glass, and sold slaves, furs, grain and other goods.⁹⁹

No source tells us when Svyatoslav obtained Tmutarakan'. However, we have seen that it had been the patrimony of his uncle Mstislav. Later, when he assumed control of the entire left bank and made Chernigov his capital Mstislav evidently incorporated Tmutarakan' into his new principality.¹⁰⁰ Thus, when his contemporaries spoke of the lands of Chernigov, they included Tmutarakan'. This was no doubt the view of the chronicler who reported Yaroslav's "testament." Thus, we may assume that Svyatoslav inherited Tmutarakan' at the time his father gave him Chernigov. When his eldest son Gleb came of age Svyatoslav bequeathed it to him in turn in the hope of ensuring his family's control over the Taman' peninsula.

In addition to consolidating his authority in Rus', Svyatoslav also attempted to strengthen his status among foreign rulers: during the 1060s he negotiated his first marriage alliance. As already noted, he arranged for his daughter Vysheslava to marry Boleslav II "the Bold" (*Smialy*) of the Poles.¹⁰¹ The prince of Chernigov therewith followed the example of his father Yaroslav who obtained spouses for his children from different dynastic and aristocratic families of Western Europe.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, Svyatoslav's political status was significantly different from that of his father when he arranged the alliance. Yaroslav had been the prince of Kiev and supreme ruler of Rus', on the one hand. On the other hand, Svyatoslav was the prince of a local principality who had pledged allegiance to the prince of Kiev. This demonstrates that, as a member of the "inner circle," Svyatoslav was allowed to maintain diplo-

⁹⁹ A. L. Mongayt, "O granitsakh Tmutarakanskogo knyazhestva v XI v.," *Problemy obshchestvenno-politicheskoy istorii Rossii i slavyanskikh stran* (M., 1963), pp. 57-8, and V. V. Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii drevney Rusi do mongol'skogo zavoevaniya," *Istoriya kul'tury drevney Rusi, Domongol'skiy period: I "Material'naya kul'tura,"* eds. N. N. Voronin et al. (M.-L., 1948), pp. 22-4.

¹⁰⁰ The chronicles never state that Tmutarakan' was ever directly subject to the prince of Kiev, even to Yaroslav. Its political affiliation with Rus' was evidently always through Chernigov (V. Passek, "Knyazheskaya i doknyazheskaya Rus'," *Chteniya*, bk 3 (M., 1870), pp. 26-7).

¹⁰¹ Zotov, p. 260.

¹⁰² Baum, I, 21-30.

matic ties and arrange marriage alliances with foreign aristocratic families independently of his elder brother in Kiev. To judge from the lack of chronicle evidence to the contrary, Izyaslav expressed no overt opposition to Svyatoslav's action. Consequently, we may assume that the prince of Chernigov concluded the pact with his brother's foreknowledge and consent.

During the first twenty years after his father's death, therefore, Svyatoslav's reign appears to have been in the main uneventful. He preoccupied himself with routine administration, civil and, as we shall see below, ecclesiastical. To judge from the paucity of information, the chronicler found no newsworthy events to report for the lands of Chernigov proper, that is, for the area located within the boundaries described above. There was one exception. Svyatoslav's authority was challenged in the distant Tmutarakan'.

E. TMUTARAKAN'

The PVL has a short report on the conflict over Tmutarakan'. In 1064, Rostislav, the son of Vladimir of Novgorod (d. 1052), fled to Tmutarakan'. He was accompanied by a certain Porei and Vyshata, the son of Ostromir', the *voevoda* of Novgorod.¹⁰³ Rostislav drove out his cousin Gleb and occupied the town. In the following year when Svyatoslav marched against him Rostislav withdrew not, we are told, because he was frightened of Svyatoslav, but because he did not wish to go to war against his own uncle. Svyatoslav reinstated his son and returned home. Then Rostislav attacked the town again, drove out Gleb, and forced him to flee to Chernigov a second time.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Porey later became a military commander for the prince of Kiev and was killed in 1078 by the Polovtsy. Vyshata had been a commander under Vladimir Yaroslavich in 1043 when Vladimir attacked Constantinople (*Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 393-4).

¹⁰⁴ Ipat., cols. 152-3; cf. Lav., cols. 163-4; see also Tver., cols. 154-6. The chronicler, evidently Nikon "the Great" who lived for a time in Tmutarakan', championed the principle of princely brotherly love. It was he who evidently stressed this ideal under the year 1054 when he reported Yaroslav's "testament"; he emphasized it again in this account by claiming that Rostislav refused to fight his uncle out of brotherly love rather than for military reasons (Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopis-*

Rostislav's reign in Tmutarakan', however, was short-lived. His success in collecting tribute from the Kasogians and other neighbouring peoples so alarmed the Greeks that they bribed a high official (*kotopan*) to kill him.¹⁰⁵ The assassin came to Tmutarakan' and, feigning loyalty to Rostislav, offered a toast to the prince's health at a banquet. After drinking some wine he pressed his fingernail against the inside of his goblet releasing into it poison which he had placed underneath his nail. He offered the cup to Rostislav who drank from it and a few days later, on 3 February 1067, died from the poison.¹⁰⁶

The sources fail to explain why the prince fled from Novgorod. However, we have seen that Novgorod was Rostislav's inheritance but, owing to his minority, Izyaslav assumed control of it until he came of age. Izyaslav never allowed Rostislav to rule his patrimony. Proof of this is found in the list of Novgorod princes recorded in the NPL where Rostislav's name is lacking.¹⁰⁷

It appears, therefore, that the prince of Novgorod at the time of Rostislav's flight was Izyaslav's son Mstislav. In 1065 he went out to confront Vseslav of Polotsk who was ravaging the lands of Pskov, was defeated on the river Cherekha, and fled to Kiev.¹⁰⁸

Since Mstislav was prince of Novgorod in 1065, and as Rostislav had been forced to flee in the previous year, Mstislav's presence in Novgorod

saniya XI-XV vv., pp. 32-3).

¹⁰⁵ After Justinian (d. 565) Byzantium followed a more or less consistent policy towards the territories of the east, north, and west coasts of the Black Sea. As peoples migrated through these regions and presented a constant threat, Byzantium's major objective was to attain a favourable balance of power in the area. To achieve this the empire attempted to create a series of vassal states from the Sea of Azov to Lake Van in Armenia (D. Obolensky, 'The Empire and its Northern Neighbours, 565-1018,' *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, *The Byzantine Empire*, part 1, *Byzantium and its Neighbours*, ed. J. M. Hussey [Cambridge, 1966], pp. 473-5). Rostislav's expansionist policy upset the balance of power the Greeks wished to maintain.

¹⁰⁶ Ipat., col. 155; Lav., col. 166.

¹⁰⁷ NPL, p. 161.

¹⁰⁸ We are told: 'after the death of Vladimir [1052] in Novgorod, Izyaslav appointed his son Mstislav; he was defeated at the river Cherekha [near Pskov]; he fled to Kiev and after the town [Novgorod] was captured the war ended' (NPL, pp. 161, 470; Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya,' pp. 81, 87). As we shall see, Novgorod was captured by Vseslav of Polotsk in the winter of 1066-67 (Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, pp. 49-50).

was most likely connected with Rostislav's flight. That is, after Mstislav came to Novgorod, Rostislav realized that his uncle Izyaslav of Kiev did not intend to let him sit on the throne of his father. Having attained his majority, indeed he had fathered three sons,¹⁰⁹ Rostislav believed the time had come to assert this claim. Therefore, with the backing of Porey and Vyshata, he unsuccessfully attempted to displace Mstislav. After his failure he fled from Novgorod.

Izyaslav therefore violated Yaroslav's "testament" by usurping control of Novgorod. In the light of this fact it is difficult to explain why Rostislav seized Svyatoslav's town rather than one belonging to Izyaslav. His action is all the more perplexing when we discover later that he refused to march against Svyatoslav because the latter was his uncle. To judge from his retreat, Rostislav did not have a personal grudge against Svyatoslav. Rather, his action suggests that he wished to register a complaint with Svyatoslav who, as a member of the triumvirate was at least partly to blame, in Rostislav's view, for Izyaslav's transgression. Namely, the *izgoi* wished lodge his complaint with Svyatoslav for the injustice committed against him. He seized Tmutarakan' not because he wished to rule it, but because by capturing it he hoped to prompt Svyatoslav into persuading Izyaslav to return Novgorod to him. It was only after Svyatoslav evidently refused to intervene and marched against Rostislav that the latter realised his tactic failed and decided to remain in Tmutarakan'.

Surprisingly, after Rostislav occupied Tmutarakan' the second time Svyatoslav made no attempt to expell him. What considerations prompted Svyatoslav to cede his southern domain to Rostislav even though the latter's grievance was against Izyaslav? Any compensation that was forthcoming to Rostislav should have been made by Izyaslav as prince of Kiev. On closer examination we see that Rostislav's flight served to precipitate a much wider national conflict in which all three princes of the triumvirate became involved.

Under 1065, after announcing that Rostislav became prince of Tmutarakan' the second time, the PVL states enigmatically that Vseslav of Polotsk went to war and attacked Pskov.¹¹⁰ Later, apparently in the winter

¹⁰⁹ His three sons were Ryurik, Volodar', and Vasil'ko. He married Lanka, the daughter of King Bela I of Hungary (Baum. III, 1-4).

¹¹⁰ Tver., col. 154; cf. Ipat., col. 153; Lav., col. 164; NPL, pp. 17, 184.

of 1066-67, he captured Novgorod, set fire to it, and carried off the women and children. He also plundered the Cathedral of St. Sophia, including its bells and the main chandelier.¹¹¹ The war which ensued between Vseslav and the Yaroslavichi was a harbinger of the endemic inter-princely rivalries which would plague Rus' for almost two centuries.

The PVL describes the conflict as follows: After Vseslav of Polotsk captured Novgorod, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod marshalled their troops and marched against him in the heart of winter. As they approached Minsk the inhabitants barricaded themselves and the princes took it by storm; they butchered the men and took the women and children captive. Next, they set off for the river Nemiga, a tributary of the Svisloch' near Minsk, where Vseslav confronted them. On 3 March the two sides clashed in deep snow and many were killed. Finally, Vseslav fled and victory went to the Yaroslavichi.

On 10 June the three brothers summoned Vseslav to come to them; they kissed the Holy Cross and swore to give him safe passage. Having faith in their solemn promise he met them at Rsha (Orsha) near Smolensk.¹¹² As he entered Izyaslav's tent, however, the brothers treacherously broke their oath and seized him. Izyaslav took Vseslav along with two of his sons to Kiev and threw him into the dungeon.¹¹³

At first glance, Vseslav's attack against Izyaslav's son in Novgorod seems puzzling; only a few years earlier he had accompanied the Yaroslavichi on an expedition against the Torki. What change of circumstance prompted Vseslav to renounce his alliance? To judge from chronicle information, his own principality suffered no political or military upheavals, therefore, we must search for possible clues in the towns he attacked, Pskov and Novgorod. Significantly, as noted above, both of them experienced important changes in the early 1060s.

In 1063 Prince Sudislav of Pskov, whom the Yaroslavichi forced to renounce his patrimony four years earlier, died.¹¹⁴ Around that time, or

¹¹¹ See s.a. 1066, NPL, p.17; s.a. 1067, lpat., col. 155; Lav., col. 166.

¹¹² The following settlements and towns belonged to Polotsk in the tenth and eleventh century: Polotsk, Vitebsk, Zaslavl', Usvyaty, Lukoml', Drutsk, Braslav, Minsk, Logoyetsk, Kopys', Orsha, Golotichesk (G. V. Shtykhov, "Kiev i goroda Polotskoy zemli," KZZR, p. 56). Cf. Nasonov who claimed Orsha belonged to Smolensk ("Russkaya zemlya," pp. 155, 159, 165, and NPL, p. 614).

¹¹³ lpat., cols. 155-6; Lav., cols. 166-7; NPL, p. 186.

¹¹⁴ lpat., col. 152; Lav., col. 163.

even before Sudislav's death, his lands were annexed to Novgorod.¹¹⁵ Then, in 1064 Izyaslav expelled Rostislav and confirmed his own son Mstislav as prince of Novgorod. Since Vseslav began waging war against the Yaroslavichi by attacking Pskov soon after Rostislav fled, it appears that Vseslav's hostility was directly connected with the political developments in Novgorod.¹¹⁶

Since Izyaslav and his brothers had appropriated Pskov and Novgorod from their rightful owners, Vseslav may have considered annexing them to his own patrimony.¹¹⁷ However, it must be pointed out that the princes of Polotsk had never demonstrated a desire to challenge Yaroslav's family for control of their territories. It is unlikely that Vseslav intended to break that tradition. Furthermore, his raiding tactics suggest that the permanent occupation of Novgorod was not his objective. We must seek the motive for his action elsewhere.

It is possible that Vseslav took it upon himself to champion Rostislav's cause; but, if he did, it was only a secondary motive. Most important, Vseslav objected to having yet another Izyaslavich ruling a territory with boundaries adjacent to his own principality. As has been noted, Turov, located to the south of Polotsk, was Izyaslav's patrimony. By appointing his son Mstislav to Novgorod, Izyaslav gained control of territories located to the north of Polotsk as well. This made Vseslav's domain vulnerable to attack from the Izyaslavichi on two fronts. Although there is no chronicle evidence that hostile relations existed between the two families before 1064, in the light of later developments we shall see that Izyaslav may have expressed expansionist tendencies before that date.

Vseslav's objective was not so much to keep Rostislav in Novgorod as to keep Izyaslav out of it. By attacking Novgorod he demonstrated his

¹¹⁵ See above pp. 44-5, and Nasonov, "*Russkaya zemlya*," p. 81.

¹¹⁶ Vseslav captured Novgorod the same winter in which Rostislav was murdered. Rostislav died 3 February 1067 (s.a. 1066, Ipat., col. 155; Lav., col. 166; NPL, p. 186). The sack of Novgorod occurred before 3 March since that was the day on which the two sides clashed on the Svisloch after the Yaroslavichi had already razed Minsk. This suggests that Vseslav attacked Novgorod before he learnt of Rostislav's death.

¹¹⁷ After Sudislav died without an heir Vseslav could argue that he had a right to seize Pskov. His family had genealogical seniority (and therefore a prior claim) over the Yaroslavichi since his father had been Yaroslav's elder brother (Baum. I).

displeasure to the Novgorodians with the intention of coercing them into rejecting the Izyaslavichi as their princes.¹¹⁸ Vseslav's opposition was the first serious military threat that the triumvirate encountered in Rus'. According to the PVL, the three princes rose to the challenge successfully.

Regrettably, in the eyes of the chronicler, the Yaroslavichi attained their objective through perfidy: they broke the oath to Vseslav they had sealed by kissing the Holy Cross. They therewith committed a heinous crime against him and sinned most grievously against God. An oath was a prince's most solemn appeal to God to witness the integrity of his promise. Later, in his "Instruction" Vladimir Monomakh explained the sacredness of an oath to his sons in the following manner:

Whenever you kiss the Cross to confirm an oath made to your brethren or to any other man first test your heart as to whether you can abide by your word then kiss the Cross and after once having given your oath, abide by it, lest you destroy your souls by its violation.¹¹⁹

Punishment for the violation of an oath was meted out by God Himself; it could mean the loss of one's soul or suffering here on earth. Scribes were often quick to point out to princes who became the victims of misfortune, but had on some previous occasion broken an oath, that their lot was the direct result of their transgression.

Izyaslav was no exception. At a later date the chronicler reminded Izyaslav that he was the subject of God's wrath because of his treachery against Vseslav.¹²⁰ The author lays the blame for the triumvirate's violation solely on Izyaslav's shoulders. As the eldest of the three Yaroslavichi and the one responsible for Izyaslav's imprisonment, he was held responsible for the triumvirate's crime. It is difficult to say, however, if the chronicler is completely justified in his accusation. Admittedly, there is no report that either Svyatoslav or Vsevolod challenged Izyaslav. Just the same, it is unlikely that they were guiltless. We must remember that throughout this period the three princes practiced a common policy of consolidation. Just as they had acted in unison in dealing with their two younger brothers,

¹¹⁸ This view is supported by the news that at an undetermined date soon after, Svyatoslav, (i.e., a different branch of the Yaroslavichi), appointed his son Gleb to Novgorod. Vseslav established amicable relations with Svyatoslav.

¹¹⁹ The translation is taken from PC, p. 210; Lav., col. 245.

¹²⁰ Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 67.

their uncle Sudislav, and their nephew Rostislav, so they all agreed to break their pledge to Vseslav.

Thus we see that, on the one hand, Vseslav attacked Novgorod, at least indirectly, because Rostislav was denied his patrimony. On the other hand, the triumvirate's retaliation against Vseslav influenced developments in Tmutarakan'. Namely, Svyatoslav was unable to drive out Rostislav after he occupied Tmutarakan' the second time (1065) because at that time he was preparing to march with his brothers against Vseslav. Fortunately for Svyatoslav, his problem in Tmutarakan' was resolved for him by the Greeks who hired an assassin to kill Rostislav.

The PVL does not relate who became prince of Tmutarakan' after his death, but the "Life of Feodosy" provides important information. Nestor, its author, reports that after the death of Rostislav "prince of this island," the inhabitants turned to Nikon "the Great" for help. They asked him to intercede on their behalf with Svyatoslav that he send Gleb back as prince. Nikon did as requested. He went to Rus' and after visiting Feodosy in the Caves Monastery in Kiev, returned with Gleb "prince of this island" and he "sat on the throne in this town" [Tmutarakan'].¹²¹

A unique source also confirms Gleb's rule in Tmutarakan'. A short inscription on the so-called "Tmutarakan' stone" (*Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*) states: "in 1068 (6576)...Prince Gleb measured [the distance] across the ice from Tmutarakan' to Korchev [to be] 14000 sazhen."¹²² We are not told why Gleb measured the distance across the Straits.¹²³ However, the in-

¹²¹ *Paterik Pecherskiy*, p. 45; *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 95. Concerning Nikon, see pp. 123-4. It appears that Nikon arrived in Rus' when the Yaroslavichi were campaigning against Vseslav and visited Feodosy while awaiting Svyatoslav's, and presumably Gleb's, return (Priselkov, *Ocherki*, p. 206).

¹²² Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*, p. 9; Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," pp. 16-8. One *sazhen* was 152 cm (E. I. Kamentseva and N. V. Ustyugov, *Russkaya metrologiya* [M., 1965], pp. 20-6). According to Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus the distance across the Straits of Kerch' was 18 miles (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, p. 186). The stone was discovered between 25 August and 8 September 1792 on the Taman' peninsula (B. V. Sapunov, "O Tmutorokanskom kamne 1068 g.," *Pamyatniki kul'tury: Nove otkrytiya*, 1975 [M., 1976], pp. 457-71).

¹²³ It has been suggested that he erected the stone monument to commemorate the annexation of Korchev (Kerch') to the principality of Tmutarakan' (Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*, p. 15). A close analogy is a stone cross erected in 1133

scription confirms that, after Rostislav's death on 3 February 1067, Svyatoslav regained possession of Tmutarakan' and reinstated Gleb as prince. The latter evidently measured the distance across the Straits of Kerch' in the winter of 1067-68.¹²⁴ After that, Svyatoslav retained control of his southern domain until his death.

F. THE POLOVTSY

Svyatoslav proved himself to be of more resolute character than his brothers. In 1068, he demonstrated the metal of which he was made when the Polovtsy (Cumans) attacked Rus'. The Polovtsy were a Turkish horde which migrated from Kazakhstan and displaced the Pechenegs from the steppes north of the Black Sea. They appeared on the southern frontiers some thirteen years earlier and proved to be the most dangerous enemies the Yaroslavichi had ever confronted. Ironically, their arrival on the lands of Pereyaslavl' had gone almost unnoticed. The PVL simply states that in 1055 a certain Blush' came with the Polovtsy; Vsevolod concluded peace with the chieftain and the latter returned to the steppe.¹²⁵

Blush' evidently came merely to reconnoiter. Seven years later (1062) a war-party returned led by a certain Prince Sokal (Iskal) and attacked

by a Novgorod boyar named Ivanko Pavlovits' to record dredging operations on the upper Volga (A. K. Zhiznevsky, "Opisanie Tverskago Muzeya (prodolzhenie)," *Drevnosti*, Trudy Imperatorskago moskovskago arkheologicheskago obshchestva, ed. I. D. Mansvetov, vol. 9, vyp. 2-3 [M., 1883], pp. 115-8, and Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," pp. 27-8).

¹²⁴ It has been suggested that the year 6576 on the stone is registered in the September Year and not the March Year. Accordingly, Gleb measured the Straits in the winter of 1067-68 (September Year) and not 1068-69 (March Year); see Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*, p. 14; A. L. Mongayt, *Nadpis' na kamne* (M., 1969), p. 95; and Rybakov "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," p. 17. However, as we observed above concerning the date of Yaroslav's death, it is more likely that the inscription on the stone was made according to the Ultra-March Year (see above, p. 33). As we shall see, the winter of 1067-68 is probably the correct one (although the winter of 1068-69 is possible) because Svyatoslav appointed Gleb to Novgorod during Vseslav's rule in Kiev, that is, between September of 1068 and May of 1069.

¹²⁵ See s.a. 1055, Ipat., col. 151; cf. s.a. 1054, Lav., col. 162. See also Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, pp. 224-5; V. V. Kargalov, "Polovetskie nabegi na Rus'," *Voprosy istorii*, no. 9 (M., 1965), pp. 68-73.

Vsevolod confronted them on 2 February, but they defeated him, pillaged the region, and withdrew. This was the first evil, the chronicler reports, inflicted on the land of Rus' by the "pagan godless enemies."¹²⁶ However, in 1068, the year after Izyaslav threw Vseslav of Polotsk into the dungeon in Kiev, an exceptionally large force of Polovtsy invaded Pereyaslavl'. Izyaslav, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod marched against the enemy and were defeated on the river Al'ta (L'to), a tributary of the Trubezh'.¹²⁷

Izyaslav and Vsevolod fled to Kiev, but Izyaslav encountered more difficulties in the town. As the Polovtsy advanced deeper into the Kievan lands the inhabitants sought safety in the capital. They convoked a veche and resolved to confront the enemy once again. When they asked Izyaslav to supply them with weapons and horses he refused. His action infuriated them. They rose in rebellion forcing Izyaslav and Vsevolod to flee from Kiev. On 15 September, the townsmen released Vseslav from the dungeon and proclaimed him prince. On learning this, Izyaslav rode to the Poles to ask Boleslav II "the Bold" (*Smialy*) for help.¹²⁸

Izyaslav's flight was unprecedented for a prince of Kiev. None of his predecessors had been humiliated to such a degree. His inability to hold onto Kiev reflected on the triumvirate as well. Up to the devastation of Kiev by the Tatars in 1240, this was the only occasion on which the descendants of Yaroslav lost control of the capital of Rus' to another dynasty—the Izyaslavichi of Polotsk.

Following the disastrous defeat of the triumvirate at the hands of the Polovtsy, the devastation of the land, the uprising in Kiev, and Izyaslav's expulsion the chronicler indulged himself in a long exposition. He de-

¹²⁶ Ipat., col. 152; Lav., col. 163.

¹²⁷ Ipat., col. 156; Lav., col. 167.

¹²⁸ Ipat., cols. 160-1; Lav., cols. 170-1; cf. Gust., p. 271 which says "Vsevolod [fled] to Pereyaslavl'." The majority of Soviet scholars describe the revolt as one of the first social uprisings in Rus'; among other things, the people rebelled against new feudal legislation (e.g., M. N. Tikhomirov, *Krest'yanskie i gorodskie vosstaniya na Rusi v XI-XIII vv.* [M., 1955], pp. 95-9; V. V. Mavrodin, *Narodnye vosstaniya v drevney Rusi XI-XIII vv.* [M., 1961], pp. 60-8; M. Iu. Braichevs'kyi, "Povstanniia 1068-1069 rr. u Kyievi," *UIZh*, no. 1 [1979], pp. 78-80; Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, pp. 102-3. Cf., Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 68-9). It is not our purpose to examine the nature of the uprising. However, we must remember that in addition to social injustices the people did have the immediate need to defend their homes against the marauding tribesmen.

scribed with some emotion the reasons why these misfortunes befell Rus' and Izyaslav in particular.

God thus revealed the power of the Cross, since Izyaslav violated his oath upon it when he took Vseslav prisoner. It was for that reason that God inspired the incursion of the pagans, and from this calamity the true Cross obviously delivered us.... God demonstrated the power of the Cross as an admonition to the land of Rus' that its people should not violate the true Cross after sealing their oaths by kissing it. If anyone sins against the Cross, he shall suffer not only punishment in this world but also everlasting chastisement in the next. For great is the power of the Cross. By the Cross are vanquished the powers of the devil. The Cross helps our princes in combat, and the faithful who are protected by the Cross conquer in battle the foes who oppose them....¹²⁹

The author, a monk, tried to impress upon the princes the need to honour the pledges they had sworn on the Holy Cross.

In the midst of the misfortunes suffered by the people and princes of Rus', however, there was one redeeming moment of glory. After the Yaroslavichi were defeated in battle and Izyaslav and Vsevolod fled to Kiev, Svyatoslav withdrew to Chernigov. There he learnt of the uprising in Kiev and of Izyaslav's sorry plight. During that time the Polovtsy continued pillaging the Kievan lands and also the principality of Chernigov.

Unlike Izyaslav, Svyatoslav was determined to confront the marauders. After regrouping whatever troops he could muster, he went into the field with a small *druzhina*. He came face to face with the enemy near Snovsk, a town located some 30 km (i.e., a day's march) northeast of Chernigov,¹³⁰ and, on 1 November, they clashed. The prince with a contingent of only 3,000 men, we are told, defeated the Polovtsy who numbered 12,000 strong. Many of the latter were killed, a number of them drowned in the river Snov', and still others were taken captive, including

¹²⁹ Translation from PC, p. 149; Ipat., cols. 161-2; Lav., cols. 172-3. Concerning oaths and kissing of the Holy Cross see M. B. Sverdlov, "Drevnerusskiy akt X-XIV vv.," VID (1976), pp. 63-5.

¹³⁰ Snovsk is the present-day town of Sednev, on the right bank of the river Snov' (Golubovsky, "Gde nakhodilis' sushchestvovavshie v domongol'skiy period goroda," p. 122).

their chieftain Sharakan. After that Svyatoslav returned to Chernigov with the spoils.¹³¹ This occurred some seven weeks after Izyaslav fled from Kiev.

There can be no doubt that Svyatoslav's brilliant victory and his capture of Sharakan won for him the respect of the Polovtsy. We are not told the terms Svyatoslav imposed on the defeated tribesmen. We may assume, however, that he concluded a favourable settlement, especially in exchange for the captured khan. After that he and his descendants as a matter of course cultivated friendly relations with the Polovtsy.

Unlike the inept Izyaslav who was ultimately forced to flee from his domain in ignominy, Svyatoslav remained at home to defend his people and his lands. After the victory, his valour was spoken of throughout the land of Rus'. The contrast between his leadership qualities and Izyaslav's fickleness did not, as we shall see, escape the attention of the Kievans. Thus, the first serious encounter between the Polovtsy and the Yaroslavichi revealed the true metal of the princes: Izyaslav's authority, both moral and political, was greatly undermined while Svyatoslav's was immensely enhanced.

G. IZYASLAV'S FIRST FLIGHT

In the spring of 1069, after successfully obtaining reinforcements from Boleslav II "the Bold" (*Smialy*)¹³² and the Poles, Izyaslav marched against Vseslav to reclaim his throne. The latter went out half-heartedly with the Kievans to confront the advancing enemy at Belgorod near Kiev. At night

¹³¹ Ipat., col. 161; Lav., cols. 171-2; cf. NPL, p. 190 and Gust., p. 271.

¹³² Boleslav was the ruling prince of the Poles. As the eldest son of Casimir I he succeeded his father in 1058 and ruled until 1079. Boleslav's mother was Izyaslav's aunt Dobronega (Maria) (Gall Anonim, *Khronika i deyaniya knyazey ili pravitel'ey pol'skikh*, ed., V. D. Korolyuk [M., 1961], p. 51; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 1; Baum., I, 18), this made Boleslav and Izyaslav cousins. However, Izyaslav married Casimir's younger sister Gertrude (1050) and this made him Boleslav's uncle by marriage (Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 1; Baum., I, 23). Boleslav was also Svyatoslav's son-in-law because his wife Vysheslava was Svyatoslav's daughter (Baum. IV, 5; PC, pp. 265-6, fn. 213).

he deserted them and fled to Polotsk, his patrimony.¹³³

Having no prince to defend them, the townsmen turned to Svyatoslav and Vsevolod for help. They acknowledged their guilt admitting they had committed a crime when they expelled Izyaslav. The citizens pleaded with the princes "to come to the town of your father" and protect them from the advancing Poles. If the princes refused, they threatened to set fire to Kiev and migrate to the Greeks. Svyatoslav, we are told, attempted to mollify them with the following message:

If he [Izyaslav] marches against you with the Poles intending to destroy you then we will oppose him by force for we will not allow him to destroy the town of our father. If he wishes to come in peace, however, let him approach with a small force.¹³⁴

His words pacified the Kievans.

Then Svyatoslav sent a message to Izyaslav informing him that he would meet no opposition on his return to Kiev. Svyatoslav warned his brother, however, that he and Vsevolod had no intention of standing by idly if Izyaslav permitted the throne of their father to be plundered by his allies. Izyaslav therefore approached Kiev with Boleslav and a handful of Poles, but sent his son Mstislav ahead. When the latter entered Kiev he killed around seventy of the men who had released Vseslav from prison. Then, the chronicler reports, he blinded some citizens, and executed a number who were innocent.¹³⁵ Izyaslav arrived in Kiev on 2 May and the townsmen reinstated him as prince.¹³⁶

The circumstances surrounding Izyaslav's deposition and reinstatement reveal that the Kievans viewed the nature of princely succession somewhat differently from the Yaroslavichi. This was the first instance of

¹³³ It has been suggested that Vseslav fled because he believed he had insufficient troops (his own *druzhina* and the Kievan militia) and because the Kievan boyars favoured Izyaslav's return (A. B. Golovko, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha v politicheskikh vzaimootnosheniyakh X-pervoy treti XIII vv.* [K., 1988], p. 50).

¹³⁴ Ipat., col. 163; Lav., col. 173.

¹³⁵ See O. I. Podobedova, *Miniatury*, p. 60.

¹³⁶ Ipat., cols. 162-3; Lav., cols. 173-4; NPL (K), p. 190; cf. Gall Anonim, *Khronika*, p. 54 and *Velikaya khronika' o Pol'she, Rusi i ikh sosedyakh XI-XIII vv.*, ed. V. L. Yanin (M., 1987), p. 71.

the townsmen evicting their prince and replacing him with one of their own choosing. They assumed the role of "king makers," as it were, by ignoring the system of succession Yaroslav had set up.¹³⁷

Kievan opposition to the succession of Yaroslav's descendants to his throne was not an eventuality for which Yaroslav had made provision. This is not surprising since, in the past, the citizens had never challenged a prince's rightful claim to Kiev. In Yaroslav's experience the most likely person to violate the process of succession was an upstart prince. In 1068, therefore, the *veche* set a precedent when it successfully deposed Izyaslav.

After Vseslav deserted them the Kievans attempted to select their own prince a second time. Unlike the previous occasion when they chose a non-Yaroslavich, in 1069 the only viable candidates were princes of Yaroslav's family. Nevertheless, they again tried to disregard Yaroslav's "ladder" system of succession by rejecting Izyaslav. They turned to his two younger brothers and asked them to rule Kiev. We may assume that Svyatoslav, the elder of the two and the one who had recently scored a brilliant victory against the Polovtsy, was the favoured candidate.¹³⁸

For the two Yaroslavichi the Kievans' summons was not just an empty gesture. The princes considered themselves to be legitimate claimants; they alluded to this right when they warned Izyaslav to refrain from plundering the throne of their father (i.e., rather than his, Izyaslav's, throne). Given the natural course of events, they would succeed him and they wished to inherit an unpillaged town.

Since Svyatoslav and Vsevolod considered Kiev to be their patrimony, why were they so unwilling to drive out Vseslav during the seven months he occupied it? A number of reasons can be given for their ap-

¹³⁷ It has been pointed out that the people of Rus' and the princes had different traditions of appointing a prince. The people refused to accept unconditionally the practice of a predetermined succession; in their view a prince had to be approved by popular acclamation. If a prince laid claim to a throne owing to the principle of dynastic succession, he also had to be accepted by the people: he had to conclude an agreement with them before they would acknowledge his authority. Of the two traditions, neither attained complete supremacy over the other (Gradovsky, "Gosudarstvenny stroy Drevney Rossii," pp. 354-6). To judge from Izyaslav's case, a military crisis compelled the people of Kiev to supplant the princely tradition of succession for the first time in many decades.

¹³⁸ The Kievans probably asked only Svyatoslav to be prince. Vsevolod's name was most likely added to the account at a later date by one of Vsevolod's scribes.

parent lack of initiative. Izyaslav had gone to the Poles for reinforcements and his brothers expected him to drive out the usurper with his allies. Moreover, we are not told that he asked them for assistance.¹³⁹ Besides, given the loss of manpower both princes had suffered at the hands of the Polovtsy, they were reluctant to expend their remaining forces against Vseslav. The threat of renewed nomadic incursions still remained. In the end, as we shall see, Vseslav and the Yaroslavichi evidently reached a *modus vivendi*.

We may also ask why Svyatoslav and Vsevolod turned down the opportunity to rule from the throne of their father? They tactfully refused to rule Kiev but promised to help the townspeople should Izyaslav attack. The princes had good reasons for the decision. Svyatoslav and Vsevolod could cite their father's "testament" which prohibited them from trespassing on their brother's domain. Even more important, their occupation of Kiev would be construed as a declaration of war by Izyaslav, and Svyatoslav was not prepared to initiate a fratricidal conflict.

If the Yaroslavichi occupied Kiev only one of them would be prince, that is, Svyatoslav. He realized it was foolhardy to seize power just as Izyaslav was returning with a large army. Svyatoslav's own *druzhina* had been decimated by the Polovtsy and the prince would have been hard pressed to marshal sufficient forces to drive off the attackers. What is more, he was reluctant to fight Boleslav II since the latter was his son-in-law. Finally, even if Svyatoslav succeeded in defending Kiev, his usurpation would inevitably embroil him in a protracted war with Izyaslav. Rather than throw the land of Rus' into turmoil, Svyatoslav declined to rule Kiev and retained the friendship of Izyaslav and Boleslav II.

Nonetheless, the chronicles reveal, albeit obliquely, that Svyatoslav benefited from Izyaslav's absence. In 1069, after Izyaslav returned to Kiev he waged war against Vseslav. Izyaslav expelled him from Polotsk and

¹³⁹ It has been suggested that relations between the brothers were already strained at this time. We are not told that the brothers expressed sympathy for Izyaslav's expulsion. Indeed, their intervention with the Kievans suggests they had more concern for the townspeople than for their brother (Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 77-8). Cf. Kuchkin who points out that antagonism between Svyatoslav and Izyaslav definitely existed in the fall of 1069 after Svyatoslav helped the monk Antony escape Izyaslav's wrath ("Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 28-30; concerning Antony's flight to Chernigov, see below, p. 111).

appointed his own son Mstislav as ruler, but the latter died soon after. So Izyaslav sent his son Svyatopolk to govern the town. In the meantime, Vseslav fled to the lands of Novgorod and, on 23 October, besieged the town. Svyatoslav's son Gleb and the Novgorodians defeated him in the Zverinets district of Novgorod near the brook Gzen'.¹⁴⁰

The reference to Gleb as prince of Novgorod comes as a surprise because in the previous year he had been ruling Tmutarakan'. The sources fail to report the circumstances which brought about his transfer to Novgorod. The list of Novgorod princes given by the local chronicle merely states that Izyaslav's son Mstislav, who was driven out by Vseslav in the winter of 1066-67, was replaced by Gleb at an unspecified date.¹⁴¹ However, according to the inscription on the Tmutarakan' stone, Gleb measured the distance across the Straits of Kerch in the winter of 1067-68. Therefore, he was transferred to Novgorod between that event and 23 October 1069.¹⁴² The sources fail to record how long Gleb had been in the north prior to that date.

An important clue is provided by the list of Novgorod princes given in the NPL; it reports that Svyatoslav rather than Izyaslav appointed Gleb to Novgorod.¹⁴³ It is reasonable to assume that Svyatoslav took this action before Izyaslav returned to Kiev on 2 May 1069, namely, during his seven month absence from Rus'. As Izyaslav endeavoured to make Novgorod the special preserve of the prince of Kiev after Rostislav's flight, it is unlikely that he would have allowed Svyatoslav to make the appointment had he been present in Kiev.¹⁴⁴

The prince of Chernigov, therefore, sent his son to the north with Vseslav's approval after 15 September 1068 when the latter became prince

¹⁴⁰ NPL, p. 17. Zverinets was a district of Novgorod on the St. Sofia side near the brook Gzen' (Kzeml).

¹⁴¹ Mstislav evidently departed from Novgorod early in 1067, after he was driven out by Vseslav, and went south (see p. 59). In April of 1069 he returned to Kiev with his father and the Poles; later in the year he went to Polotsk but he died soon after (Lav., cols. 173-4; Ipat., col. 163; see Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, pp. 49-50).

¹⁴² See also Kuchkin, "Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 32-3.

¹⁴³ NPL, pp. 161, 470.

¹⁴⁴ Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, pp. 49-50; Kuchkin, "Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 33-4.

of Kiev. By that time Novgorod had been without a prince since the beginning of 1067, that is, for over a year and a half. This was an exceptionally long period and the Novgorodians were eager to find a prince. Understandably, they refused to ask Vseslav for one of his sons since he had pillaged their lands in the recent past. Their only alternative was to ask the Yaroslavichi, Svyatoslav or Vsevolod. The choice was an obvious one: Svyatoslav was the elder of the two and, in his victory over the Polovtsy he had displayed the leadership qualities which they desired. An alliance with Svyatoslav had an added advantage for the Novgorodians: they would free themselves from the authority of the prince of Kiev.¹⁴⁵

This circumstance prompted Svyatoslav and Vseslav to agree on a *modus vivendi* soon after the Kievans proclaimed Vseslav their prince. Apparently, Svyatoslav acknowledged Vseslav's rule in Kiev and, in return, Vseslav approved Svyatoslav's appointment of Gleb to Novgorod.¹⁴⁶ The prince of Chernigov therewith became the largest landholder in Rus'. He became more powerful than Izyaslav himself. Moreover, Chernigov would reap enormous commercial benefits from Svyatoslav's association with Novgorod. He could direct trade coming from Novgorod to Tmutarakan' in the south and to the Kama Bulgars (beyond Murom) in the east, through Chernigov.¹⁴⁷ He undoubtedly re-routed trade destined for Kiev to go through Chernigov.

As a result, after Izyaslav was reinstated as prince of Kiev his authority was greatly diminished. Surprisingly, to judge from the silence of the sources, no overt animosity developed between Izyaslav and Svyatoslav. Instead, Izyaslav waged war against Vseslav of Polotsk. No reasons are given for his attack but they are not difficult to find. The two princes had already been on hostile terms when Izyaslav was deposed; at that time Izyaslav was holding Vseslav prisoner in Kiev. Then, during the uprising in Kiev, Vseslav agreed to rule the town forcing Izyaslav to seek sanctuary with the Poles. Finally, as prince of Kiev Izyaslav allocated Novgorod to Svyatoslav thus greatly undermining the authority of the prince of Kiev. All this was ample reason for Izyaslav to drive out the

¹⁴⁵ A. G. Zakharenko, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v Novgorode," *Uchenye zapiski, Kafedra istorii SSSR*, vol. 61 (L., 1947), p. 148.

¹⁴⁶ Kuchkin also suggests that Vseslav handed over control of Vladimir to the Yaroslavichi ("Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 34-5; Golovko, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha*, pp. 49-50).

¹⁴⁷ Zakharenko, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v Novgorode," p. 148.

prince of Polotsk from his patrimony.

Izyaslav's war was a personal one motivated by revenge and aggrandizement.¹⁴⁸ He commanded Mstislav to expell Vseslav from Polotsk and occupy the town. After Mstislav's untimely death he sent Svyatopolk to rule Polotsk. In 1071, after Vseslav drove out Svyatopolk, Izyaslav sent Yaropolk against Vseslav to regain control of the town.¹⁴⁹ Izyaslav's reliance on only his sons to wage war against Vseslav demonstrates that he either refused to draw his brothers into the conflict or, that he could not do so. Given the agreement Svyatoslav and Vsevolod reached with Vseslav during the latter's rule in Kiev, they could well have refused to attack Polotsk had Izyaslav demanded it. Therefore, whether he wished it to be so or not, Izyaslav's war against Vseslav became a personal one. His main objective was to seize control of the only non-Yaroslavichi domain in Rus'. It would serve as compensation for his loss of Novgorod and offset the political advantage Svyatoslav enjoyed over him.

Izyaslav's victory over Vseslav had important national ramifications; it guaranteed that he, as prince of Kiev, had supreme power in Rus'. Svyatoslav still ruled Chernigov, Novgorod, Tmutarakan', and Murom, but the last two were insignificant when reckoning effective military power in the territories of Rus' proper. They lay on its periphery. Izyaslav had Kiev, Turov, Polotsk, Vladimir, and Smolensk; these included all the important domains that existed in Rus' before Yaroslav's death with the exception of Novgorod. Compared to the territories ruled by Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, Vsevolod's possessions seemed insignificant.

Izyaslav's territorial holdings were concentrated on the right bank of the Dnepr and Svyatoslav's were located on the left bank. This distribution closely resembled the division of Rus' made in 1026 by Yaroslav and Mstislav. However, it is doubtful that Svyatoslav and Izyaslav were deliberately dividing Rus' between them in imitation of their father and uncle. On the one hand, Svyatoslav got Novgorod fortuitously: he accepted an invitation from the Novgorodians to send them his son in Izyaslav's absence. On the other hand, Izyaslav did adopt an expansionist policy, but it was also by chance that the only non-Yaroslavichi territory (Polotsk) was

¹⁴⁸ See also Kuchkin, "Slovo o polku Igoreve' i mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 27-8.

¹⁴⁹ Ipat., col. 164; Lav., col. 174.

located on the right bank.

Significantly, despite the co-operation the three brothers had previously shown in appropriating domains and even in fighting Vseslav, on this occasion Izyaslav acted on his own. It would not be too rash to observe that the first overt evidence of political discord among the members of the triumvirate are hidden in Izyaslav's conflict with Vseslav.¹⁵⁰

If discord already existed between the Yaroslavichi we may well ask why Vseslav attacked Gleb in Novgorod after Izyaslav's sons drove him out of Polotsk. A closer look at the situation will reveal that Vseslav's plight was not unlike Rostislav's who, five years earlier (1064), fled from his patrimony and captured Tmutarakan'. Vseslav was in desperate straits after losing Polotsk. He therefore may have imitated the example of Rostislav by attacking Novgorod in the hope of capturing a domain with which he could barter for his patrimony. After wresting control of Novgorod from Svyatoslav, he probably intended to give it to Izyaslav in exchange for Polotsk. For the second time, therefore, Gleb was a victim of circumstance. Unfortunately for Vseslav, on this occasion Gleb successfully repelled the attack.

Thus we see that in 1069, after Izyaslav returned to Kiev, he was forced to adopt an expansionist policy in order to strengthen his position against Svyatoslav. This was necessary because, during Izyaslav's seven-month absence from Rus', Svyatoslav had increased his power considerably with the acquisition of Novgorod. After transferring his eldest son Gleb to it, he was able to appoint a younger son to Tmutarakan'. Under the year 1077 Svyatoslav's son Roman ruled that town,¹⁵¹ but it is unclear whether he was Gleb's immediate successor. As we shall see, an examination of different sources suggests this was not the case. Except for the few references to Gleb, the PVL tells us nothing about Svyatoslav's remaining sons for this period of his reign.

If we are to take, as we should, the general silence of the sources to signify peace in Rus', then we see that the Yaroslavichi continued to live in harmony for another three years after Izyaslav seized Polotsk. During that time Svyatoslav directed his energies to the administration of his domains. Fortunately for him, in 1071 when the Polovtsy raided territories

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Golovko, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha*, p. 52.

¹⁵¹ *Ipat.*, col. 190; *Lav.*, col. 199.

to the south of Kiev they apparently spared the inhabitants of Chernigov.¹⁵² The tribesmen no doubt avoided Svyatoslav's domains, at least in part, because they feared him after their defeat at his hands in November 1068, and because of the treaties he concluded with them.

H. THE TRANSLATION OF SS. BORIS AND GLEB

In 1072, the Yaroslavichi displayed the greatest princely harmony ever seen in Rus'. The reason for it was a religious ceremony: the translation of the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb. They were murdered in 1015, allegedly at the command of their elder brother Svyatopolk. After that, the cult of the two "passion sufferers" (*strastoterptsy*) spread rapidly as miracles became associated with their relics in Vyshgorod.¹⁵³

At first their remains were buried beside the wooden church of St. Basil. After it was destroyed by fire, Yaroslav "the Wise" built a wooden church with five domes to house the relics. With the passage of time his structure deteriorated and, by the early 1070s, it also had to be replaced. Izyaslav who, as prince of Kiev, had jurisdiction over Vyshgorod and over the shrine, built a new one-domed wooden church for the first martyrs of Rus'. He then summoned his brothers to the translation ceremony.¹⁵⁴

On 2 May,¹⁵⁵ Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod assembled in

¹⁵² Ipat., col. 164; Lav., col. 174.

¹⁵³ Vyshgorod is a town located on the high right bank of the Dnepr some 12 km north of Kiev. It was well fortified and served as a forepost for the capital. Those travelling from Chernigov to Kiev preferred using the ford at Vyshgorod to cross the Dnepr and so avoid crossing the Desna as well. See P. A. Rappoport, "Arkheologicheskie zametki o dvukh russkikh oboronitel'nykh sooruzheniyakh XII veka," KSDPIIMK, 54 (1954), pp. 180-4; Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, pp. 132-4; V. I. Dovzhenok, "Ohliad arkheolohichnoho vyvchennia drevn'oho Vyshhoroda za 1934-1935 rr.," *Arkheolohiia*, vol. 3 (K., 1950), pp. 64-92; *Arkheologiya Ukrainiskoy SSR*, vol. 3, *Ranneslavyanskiy i drevnerusskiy periody*, eds. V. D. Baran et. al. (K., 1986), pp. 303-10.

¹⁵⁴ E. E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya kanonizatsii svyatikh v russkoy tserkvi*, second edition (M., 1903), pp. 43-51.

¹⁵⁵ There is a discrepancy in the sources concerning the date, some give 2 May (e.g., Lav., col. 182; NPL, p. 197) and others give 20 May (e.g., Ipat., col. 172). The latter is evidently a scribal error. It has been suggested that Izyaslav chose 2 May for the ceremony because on that day Prince Boris (in baptism Michael) of Bulgaria

Vyshgorod. The hierarchy came as well including Metropolitan Georgy, Neofit of Chernigov,¹⁵⁶ Bishop Peter of Pereyaslavl', the bishops of Belgorod and Yur'ev, Abbot Feodosy of the Caves Monastery and many other abbots, priests, and deacons. They moved the relics with great solemnity and established a Feast Day to commemorate the occasion.

The translation proceeded as follows. The three brothers placed the wooden coffin of Boris on their shoulders and, following the clergy in procession, entered the new church. There they opened the casket and a sweet fragrance emanated from it and everyone glorified God. On witnessing this the metropolitan, who had doubted the sanctity of the saints, was overcome with fear. He fell to his knees begging God's forgiveness. Then they kissed the bones and placed them into a stone sarcophagus.

The princes then transferred the body of Gleb on a sledge because, unlike that of Boris, it had already been placed into a stone coffin. However, when the procession reached the door of the new church the sledge refused to budge.¹⁵⁷ They succeeded in moving Gleb into the building only after all those present exclaimed "God have mercy on us." After the solemn liturgy the princes and their boyars held a feast "in great love" and then returned to their homes.¹⁵⁸

Most of the sources contain only the above information, but a few

died (A. F. Sciacca, "The Kiev Cult of Boris and Gleb: the Bulgarian Connection," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Slavic Cultures: Bulgarian Contributions to Slavic Cultures. An International Conference Dedicated to the Celebration of the Thirteen Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Bulgarian State* [Columbia University in the City of New York, November 14, 1980], [Sofia, 1983], pp. 61-4; 69, fn. 23).

¹⁵⁶ Neofit's name was deleted from many of the sources (e.g., Ipat., Lav., NPL), but where it has been preserved, it is found between those of the metropolitan and Peter of Pereyaslavl' (e.g., Sof., I, p. 142; Tver., col. 166; Tip., pp. 63-4; Pisk., p. 68; cf. "Kniga stepennaya," p. 154).

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of this incident, see A. S. Khoroshev, *Politicheskaya istoriya russkoy kanonizatsii (XI-XVI vv.)*, (M., 1986), pp. 32-3. According to custom, the body of a deceased person was taken to its resting place on a sledge.

¹⁵⁸ Ipat. cols. 171-2; Lav., cols. 181-2; NPL, pp. 196-7; see illustration no. 22. For the miniatures see *Skazanie o Borise i Glebe*, Faksimil'noe vosproizvedenie zhitiynykh povestey iz Sil'vestrovskogo sbornika (2-ya polovina XIV veka), 2 parts, L. A. Dmitriev et al. (M., 1985); D. V. Aynalov, "Ocherki i zametki po istorii drev-ne-russkogo iskusstva. IV. Miniatyury 'Skazaniya' o svv. Borise i Glebe Sil'vestrov-skago sbornika," *Izvestiya*, vol. 15, bk 3 (Spb., 1910), pp. 1-14; O. A. Belobrova, "Miniatyury 'Skazaniya o Borise i Glebe'," *Skazanie*, part I, pp. 90-101.

give additional evidence which is important for our investigation. Before interring the two bodies Metropolitan Georgy blessed the three Yaroslavi-chi, first with the head of St. Boris and then with the hand of St. Gleb. When the metropolitan came with St. Gleb's hand to Svyatoslav, the prince took it and touched first "the sore" (*ured*) on his shoulder and then also his eyes and head. Later in the liturgy Svyatoslav complained of a pain at the top of his head; his attendant removed the prince's cap and found a fingernail from Gleb's hand lodged in the skull. Svyatoslav looked upon this as a manifestation of the saint's favour.¹⁵⁹

A number of observations can be made concerning the ceremony in Vyshgorod. This is the first reference to Svyatoslav's affliction. We are not told its precise nature nor for how long a period he suffered from it. His action at the ceremony reveals, however, that by the year 1072 his malady had become sufficiently advanced to prompt him to seek, evidently in desperation, a miraculous cure. That the infirmity was serious in nature is confirmed at a later date when we learn that it caused his death. We should keep in mind, therefore, that after 1072 the prince had to participate in affairs of state with this evidently incurable ailment.

Significantly, Svyatoslav selected the relic of St. Gleb rather than St. Boris. He also chose the name Gleb for his eldest son. This evidence reveals that the younger martyr was his favoured saint. It is reasonable to assume that Svyatoslav chose St. Gleb as his patron because the saint had been the prince of Murom before him. Moreover, evidence suggests Svyatoslav was one of the first princes to promote the cult of St. Gleb; later, his sons imitated his example.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 62-3; "Skazanie," ed. D. I. Abramovich, p. 56; Sof. I, p. 143. Cf. "Chtenie" where the monk Nestor claims, wrongly, that the nail fell off the hand of St. Boris ("Chtenie," ed. D. I. Abramovich, pp. 21-2); see also V. I. Lesyuchevsky, "Vyshgorodskiy kul't Borisa i Gleba v pamyatnikakh iskusstva," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya* 8 (1946), p. 238. The reference to the hand of St. Gleb is the older one (M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, *Povest' vremennykh let* [M., 1971], p. 90). It is interesting to note that Norwegian kings reserved for themselves the privilege to cut off St. Olaf's perpetually growing nails and hair. These relics became their greatest treasures (K. Gabor, "From sacral kingship to self-representation. Hungarian and European Royal Saints in the 11th-13th centuries," *Continuity and Change: Political Institutions and Literary Movements in the Middle Ages*, ed. E. Vestergaard [Odense, 1986], p. 70).

¹⁶⁰ Concerning Svyatoslav's patronage of the cult, see below, pp. 125-7.

SS. Boris and Gleb were looked upon as the models of brotherly love. It is not surprising to note, therefore, that Svyatoslav and his brothers used this occasion to publicly demonstrate their own fraternal bond. The three princes personally transferred the caskets and later were blessed with the relics by the metropolitan. They concluded the religious celebrations with a feast epitomizing their "great love" for one another. In this way the Yaroslavichi emulated the brotherly love of their martyred uncles and demonstrated their resolve to obey the maxim of their father Yaroslav.

The princes evidently used the meeting for political ends as well. We have seen that they established a church feast to commemorate the translation of the relics. However, it has been suggested, convincingly, that the martyrs were in fact canonized in 1072 on the initiative of the triumvirate.¹⁶¹ This was the first occasion on which native saints were canonized by the Church of Rus'. This was more than just a pious act. It appears that the canonization was initially opposed by the Greek metropolitan who questioned the brothers' sanctity. If we can believe the report of a biased monk, the Greek was persuaded to change his mind after pleasant fragrances emanated from the saints' caskets. By authorizing the canonization, therefore, the princes demonstrated a degree of autonomy in the face of Byzantine opposition.¹⁶²

The Yaroslavichi, it has been suggested, took advantage of their meeting to revise their father's code of law, the so-called "Russian law" (*Pravda Rus'skaya*). In the "Expanded" (*Prostrannaya*) redaction of the text, we read:

After Yaroslav[*'s death*] his sons (Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, Vsevo-

¹⁶¹ Aleshkovsky, *Povest' vremennykh let*, pp. 85-8, and his "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura domongol'skoy Rusi* (M., 1972), pp. 105-14; A. Poppe, "O vremeni zarozhdeniya kul'ta Borisa i Gleba," *Russia mediaevalis*, Tomus I (Munich, 1973), pp. 6-29; A. B. Golovko, "Zemli zapadnoy Rusi i obedinitel'naya politika Kievskogo gosudarstva v X-pervoy treti XII v.," *KZZR*, p. 36; Khoroshev, *Politicheskaya istoriya russkoy kanonizatsii*, pp. 20-33; cf. Priselkov, *Ocherki*, p. 72.

¹⁶² According to Hungarian sources, the future King Ladislas of Hungary (1077-95) also attended the ceremony ("Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV," ed. A. Domanovszky, in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. I, ed. E. Szentpetery (Budapest, 1937), pp. 380-1) and was impressed with the manner in which a ruler could use canonizations to his advantage (Gabor, "From sacral kingship to self-representation," pp. 71-5; cf. Shternberg, Ya. I., "Z istorii rus'ko-ugors'kykh vidnosyn seredyiny XI st.," *UIZh*, no. 12 (1983), p. 90).

lod) and their men (Kosnyachko [Kostantin], Pereneg, and Niki-for) assembled once again; they prohibited avenging a murder with death and introduced a redemption-fee. The remainder [of the code] they left unchanged just as Yaroslav had legislated.¹⁶³

Evidently it was promulgated in response to the uprising of 1068 in Kiev.¹⁶⁴ The date of the revised code, which is known as the "Law of the Yaroslavichi" (*Pravda Yaroslavichey*), is not given. Although definitive proof in support of the view that the brothers updated the law in Vyshgorod is lacking, historians choose it as the most likely date. In addition to other evidence, it is the only recorded occasion after the uprising of 1068 on which the three princes were together.¹⁶⁵

An observation can also be made concerning the hierarchical order of bishops. In the list of clerics who attended the translation Neofit of Chernigov is placed between the metropolitan of Kiev and the bishop of Pereyaslavl'. The sequence is deliberate and reflects the genealogical order of Yaroslav's patrimonial allocations. The ecclesiastical precedence of a bishop, like the genealogical one of a prince, was related to the importance of the town in which he ruled. After Yaroslav's second round of territorial allocations, Chernigov became the second most important town in southern Rus', and its prince, the genealogically second eldest in the family. Similarly, to judge from the account of the clerics in attendance, the bishop of Chernigov was next in precedence after the metropolitan.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ NPL, pp. 489-92 and s.a. 1016, pp. 177-80; see also *Medieval Russian Laws*, translated and edited by G. Vernadsky (N.Y., 1947), pp. 29-35; Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniya," pp. 170-2.

¹⁶⁴ *Medieval Russian Laws*, pp. 14-5, and *Istoriya SSSR*, vol. I, "S drevneyshikh vremen do 1861 g." (M., 1956), pp. 83-4.

¹⁶⁵ Tikhomirov, *Issledovanie o russkoy pravde*, pp. 64-6 and, Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniya v drevney Rusi," p. 181. Cf. Kostomarov who suggests the law was changed soon after Yaroslav's death (*Istoricheskiya monografii i issledovaniya*, p. 140).

¹⁶⁶ It must be noted that the bishop of Novgorod was absent. According to Yaroslav's first allocation of domains, Novgorod was the town of second importance in Rus'. Vladimir's premature death (1052) forced Yaroslav to change the political structure according to which Chernigov became the town of second importance. Therefore, had the bishops of Novgorod and Chernigov both attended

From the time of their father's death up to the translation ceremony in 1072 some eighteen years later, the members of the triumvirate lived in harmony and, in the main, supported common political and ecclesiastical policies. Ironically, the translation ceremony which epitomized fraternal co-operation among the Yaroslavichi was also the last public manifestation of princely brotherly love.

I. SVYATOSLAV USURPS POWER

Less than a year later, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod rebelled against their elder brother. The PVL gives the following account.

In the year 1073, the devil sowed dissension among the Yaroslavichi and there were quarrels (*raspri*) among them; Svyatoslav and Vsevolod joined forces against Izyaslav and he fled from Kiev. Svyatoslav and Vsevolod entered Kiev on 22 March and sat on the throne in Berestovo thereby transgressing their father's instruction. It was Svyatoslav who instigated Izyaslav's expulsion because he wished to have more authority (*vlast'*). He lured Vsevolod by claiming that Izyaslav had formed a pact with Vseslav against them, and unless they forestalled him, Izyaslav would drive them out [of their domains]. That is how Svyatoslav turned Vsevolod against his elder brother. Izyaslav fled with his wife to the Poles and took much wealth with him hoping to hire many soldiers. Instead, the Poles seized his treasures and drove him away. After expelling his brother and violating his father's command and God's, Svyatoslav occupied Kiev.¹⁶⁷

Svyatoslav's seizure of Kiev was an event of first importance for the Yaroslavichi. On the one hand, he disrupted the order of succession outlined by Yaroslav. On the other hand, he secured rights for his descend-

the ceremony, it is difficult to know in what order the chronicler would have placed their names.

¹⁶⁷ Ipat., cols. 172-3; Lav., cols. 182-3; NPL, pp. 197-8. Cf. Nikon., p. 100 which states that on his flight Izyaslav was accompanied by his sons Yaropolk and Svyatopolk (Mstislav died earlier in Polotsk). It also adds the unique item of information: when Svyatoslav occupied Kiev [with Vsevolod] his sons were Gleb and Oleg.

ants which they otherwise would not have had. Because of the importance Svyatoslav's action would have on the future history of the princes of Rus' let us examine the nature of his violation in greater detail.

We must first try to determine whether there was any truth to Svyatoslav's alleged allegation that Izyaslav was planning to appropriate his and Vsevolod's patrimonies with Vseslav's help. As noted above, in 1069 after Izyaslav returned to Kiev, the only princely rivalry that erupted in Rus' was Izyaslav's war with Vseslav; he seized the latter's patrimony of Polotsk. In light of that conflict a rapprochement between the two princes four years later would have been a complete reversal of Izyaslav's policy.

The only way peace could be restored between the men was if Izyaslav relinquished control of Polotsk. There is no evidence that he did this before Svyatoslav's capture of Kiev. The last reference to Vseslav before 1073 was under the year 1071. At that time, after Vseslav expelled Svyatopolk from Polotsk, Izyaslav's eldest son Yaropolk marched against Vseslav and defeated him near a place called Golotichesk.¹⁶⁸ Since the purpose of Yaropolk's campaign was to drive out Vseslav from Polotsk and reinstate the Izyaslavichi, we may assume that the latter retained control of the town until Izyaslav lost Kiev to Svyatoslav.

Nevertheless, Izyaslav and Vseslav may have reached an agreement in 1071 or at some later date because a rapprochement was desirable to both princes.¹⁶⁹ Svyatoslav's son Gleb had occupied Novgorod after Izyaslav's son Mstislav was driven out by Vseslav. In retaliation, Izyaslav seized Vseslav's Polotsk. However, Izyaslav's main objective was still to control Novgorod since it was more important than Polotsk. Vseslav unsuccessfully attacked Novgorod in the hope of capturing it and then exchanging it for Polotsk. We may assume that, having failed, he would have happily agreed to co-operate with Izyaslav in order to regain Novgorod for him. Izyaslav, for his part, would also have been amenable to such a pact: it would improve his chances of regaining Novgorod and also provide him with an ally from Svyatoslav's camp. In the light of these considerations it could be construed that Svyatoslav was their common enemy.

¹⁶⁸ Ipat., col. 164; Lav., col. 174; NPL, p. 191. The next reference to Vseslav is made thirty years later, under 1101: "Vseslav, the prince of Polotsk died 14 April" (Lav., col. 274; Ipat., col. 250).

¹⁶⁹ Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 78-9.

It is impossible to know whether the two princes actually conspired against Svyatoslav as he claimed. We have his word for it and the chronicler's denial of it. However, the latter claims Svyatoslav tricked Vsevolod into believing there was a conspiracy against them both, and this is noteworthy. Again, we can only make an educated guess at what may have been. Izyaslav and Vseslav probably plotted against the prince of Chernigov for the reasons outlined above, but they had no hostile intentions against Vsevolod. Svyatoslav's deception, therefore, was that he persuaded Vsevolod to believe they were conspiring against him as well. Accordingly, the chronicler's claim concerning the falsehood of Svyatoslav's allegation was only partially correct.

We are also told that Svyatoslav usurped Kiev because he became greedy for more "authority" (*vlast*). On first sight this appears to be an unusual accusation when we recall how, in 1069, Svyatoslav refused to occupy Kiev after the *veche* invited him to do so. If the chronicler's claim is true, what developments between that time and 1073 made the prince of Chernigov change his mind?

Let us review Izyaslav's relations with the Kievans. It will be useful to recall that the citizens had many reasons to be displeased with their prince. In 1068, after he refused to supply them with weapons against the Polovtsy, they rebelled. The following year, before Izyaslav returned to Kiev, his son Mstislav cruelly punished the guilty and innocent alike. It is impossible that Izyaslav was unaware of his son's intentions. Mstislav's vengeful measures therefore reflected his father's attitude to the townsmen and further alienated them. Indeed, they demonstrated their hostility to Izyaslav and the Poles by secretly killing Polish soldiers whom Izyaslav had billeted in the countryside.¹⁷⁰ In addition, as we shall see, on his return to Kiev Izyaslav threatened to chastise Abbot Antony and the latter sought sanctuary with Svyatoslav. His treatment of the founder of the Caves Monastery further undermined his prestige with the Orthodox faithful.

There was more. Izyaslav was a poor military leader. In 1068 he was the commander general of the force which fled in disgrace from the Polovtsy and, soon after, he evoked the wrath of his own subjects when he refused to supply them with weapons against the enemy. He finally fled from Rus' unable to quell the rebellion against him. On his return from

¹⁷⁰ Ipat., col. 163; Lav., col. 174.

exile in May of 1069 he sent his son Mstislav to punish the Kievans rather than assume the responsibility himself. Similarly, in his battles with Vse-slav he dispatched his sons to fight his battles. Finally, in 1073 when Svyatoslav challenged his rule, he again took to flight. In fairness to him, however, it must be noted that on this occasion as in 1068 Izyaslav would have received little support from the Kievans.

We may assume that the faction which had invited Svyatoslav to come and defend Kiev four years earlier, in 1073 actively opposed Izyaslav's rule. The Kievans' support of Svyatoslav is well illustrated by Yan Vyshatich, one of their most prominent boyars whom the chronicler lauds for his wisdom and piety. As we shall see,¹⁷¹ after Svyatoslav became prince of Kiev Yan became his lieutenant in the Rostov lands. The consideration that an eminent citizen such as Yan found no difficulty in changing allegiance from Izyaslav to Svyatoslav, even after the latter seized power, suggests that other less important boyars and townsmen acted similarly. Yan was probably one of the leaders of the *veche* which first invited Svyatoslav and Vsevolod to Kiev. Moreover, given the Kievans' frame of mind in 1069, and given that Svyatoslav was welcomed as prince four years later, there is every reason to believe that Yan's faction brought pressure to bear on Svyatoslav at the translation ceremony in Vyshgorod urging him to reconsider their offer.¹⁷²

Like the Kievans, Svyatoslav also became discontent with Izyaslav's rule. Although the PVL is silent on the issue, the narrative account (*skazanie*) of SS. Boris and Gleb gives useful information. We are told that after Svyatoslav occupied Kiev he visited Abbot Feodosy in the Caves Monastery. When the holy monk tried to persuade the prince to abdicate and be reconciled with Izyaslav he retorted angrily that Izyaslav was guilty of many misdeeds.¹⁷³ The author fails to elaborate, but in addition to offending the Kievans, Izyaslav evidently misbehaved against his brothers.

One example can be offered but its veracity is questionable since it is based on unsubstantiated numismatic evidence. If the information is true, however, it is extremely important. It has been argued, inconclusively, that Izyaslav struck coins during his reign in Kiev. There are good

¹⁷¹ See below, pp. 109-10.

¹⁷² Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiya monografii*, pp. 142-3; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 78-9.

¹⁷³ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 123; *Paterik Pecherskiy*, p. 68.

reasons to believe that a coin which portrays St. Dmitry on the obverse and St. Peter on the reverse belonged to him. The two saints were the patrons of Izyaslav and his eldest son Yaropolk. It has been suggested, therefore, that Izyaslav wished to break Yaroslav's order of succession; rather than designating his brothers he declared his eldest son as his successor to Kiev. This would explain why the coin had the image of Yaropolk's patron saint on it: Izyaslav had already proclaimed his eldest son co-ruler.¹⁷⁴ Izyaslav's intention, if true, provided Svyatoslav and Vsevolod with an excellent motive for expelling him from Kiev in order to safeguard their rights of succession.¹⁷⁵

Having demonstrated that Izyaslav's reign was not as harmonious as the manifestation of alleged brotherly love at Vyshgorod intended to convey, let us turn to the question of the quarrels (*raspri*) which the chronicler claims the devil instigated amongst the Yaroslavichi. These were caused, in the main, by Svyatoslav because he wanted more "authority" (*vlast'*).¹⁷⁶ How are we to interpret Svyatoslav's demand?

In the past it has generally been argued that Svyatoslav seized power simply for personal gain. One would be foolish to deny that there is at least some truth in the assertion. However, this motive alone does not satisfactorily explain the prince's evident change of heart between 1069 when he adamantly refused to take up arms against his brother, and 1073 when he ruthlessly seized power. Control of Kiev, it is true, assured Svyatoslav supremacy in the land; it gave him the "authority" he allegedly wanted. For Svyatoslav, however, this was only one consideration. It was another, one which has not been suggested by historians to date, which probably persuaded him to use force.

Under the year 1072 a small number of sources reported that Svyatoslav suffered from a malady. Even though this was the first reference to

¹⁷⁴ It is interesting to note that, at a later date, Vladimir Monomakh summoned his eldest son Mstislav from Novgorod to Belgorod south of Kiev. As the designated successor, Mstislav also acted in the capacity of co-ruler (see pp. 298-300).

¹⁷⁵ Petrov, N. I., "Monety velikago knyazya kievskago Izyaslava Yaroslavicha (1054-1078 gg.)," *Trudy devyatago arkhologicheskago s'ezda v Vil'ne 1893*, eds. Grafinya Uvarova and S. S. Slutsky, vol. I (M., 1895), pp. 113-5.

¹⁷⁶ The meaning of the term *vlast'* evolved with usage. It could mean authority, jurisdiction, supremacy, rule, dominion; more specifically, it denoted a district, region, country, or land under the jurisdiction of one supreme authority (I. I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovarya Drevne-russkago yazyka po pis'mennym pamyatnikam*, vol. I [Spb., 1893], col. 293; Rychka, *Formirovanie territorii Kievskoy zemli*, pp. 77, 80).

it, the ailment was already at an advanced stage. This is confirmed by the information, as we shall see, that he died from it only three years after he occupied Kiev. In 1073 the gravity of his illness must have made Svyatoslav painfully aware of the political implications for his descendants of his premature death. If he predeceased Izyaslav without having ruled Kiev his sons would be debarred from succession. As *izgoi*, they would be relegated to the same political backwater as the heirs of his brothers Vladimir, Igor', and Vyacheslav. Succession to Kiev would become the monopoly of the Izyaslavichi and Vsevolod's family, if Vsevolod outlived Izyaslav.

The danger of an early death therefore made Svyatoslav view the precepts of Yaroslav's "testament" in a new light. In his quarrels with Izyaslav he probably demand that the terms of eligibility for succession to Kiev be changed; he wished to ensure for his sons that right even though he himself may never rule Kiev. Whatever Svyatoslav's demands, Izyaslav opposed them. Indeed, as suggested above, Izyaslav himself may have already demonstrated his intention to break Yaroslav's "testament" by designating his eldest son to succeed him. If this was truly the case, the arguments between the brothers could have been acrimonious indeed.

Since the quarrels failed to produce any compromise solution, Svyatoslav's only course of action was to seize Kiev. This was the first usurpation since 1019 when Yaroslav deposed his elder brother Svyatopolk and forced him into exile.¹⁷⁷ The PVL tells us little about the actual event, but it appears that Svyatoslav informed Izyaslav of his intention before taking military action. He gave Izyaslav time either to organize his defense, or as Svyatoslav probably suspected would be the case, to pack his treasures and withdraw from Kiev. Svyatoslav had no intention of killing his brother, imprisoning him, or maiming him.¹⁷⁸ Instead, to judge from another source, he and Vsevolod pursued Izyaslav until he departed from the lands of Rus' and then returned to Kiev.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Lav., col. 146; Ipat., col. 133.

¹⁷⁸ Such were the fates of other princes: Svyatoslav's grandfather Vladimir killed his elder brother Yaropolk after capturing Kiev (s.a. 980, Lav., cols. 77-8; Ipat., cols. 65-6); Sudislav and Vseslav, as we have seen, were thrown into prison; the Greeks often blinded deposed rulers, a misfortune which would befall Vasil'ko the son of Rostislav of Tmutarakan'.

¹⁷⁹ Nestor writes: "and they drove him [Izyaslav] out of this entire land and then returned again" (*Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 121; see also Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 80).

We are not told why Svyatoslav chose this temperate course of action rather than a more violent one.¹⁸⁰ From political considerations his treatment of the deposed prince was inconclusive. As long as Izyaslav was still alive he would undoubtedly do everything in his power to regain control of Kiev. As we have seen, in 1069 he had already demonstrated his intention and ability to solicit help from the Poles. Therefore, if Svyatoslav was greedy for more *vlad'*, he was not ruthless enough to shed his brother's blood. Indeed, it could be argued that by not killing Izyaslav he was attempting to observe, to the degree that his objectives would allow, the Christian dictum of brotherly love to which Yaroslav "the Wise" exhorted his sons.

How then are we to interpret the chronicler's contention that Svyatoslav wanted more *vlad'*? His seizure of Kiev seemingly indicates that his primary objective was to increase his territorial holdings and to become the most powerful prince in Rus'. Our investigation suggests that his intentions were not so straightforward. The simple acquisition of land and the quest for more power were not Svyatoslav's overriding motives.

In the past he had not demonstrated any undue expansionist tendencies against the other members of the triumvirate. After the deaths of their younger brothers Vyacheslav (1057) and Igor' (1060), Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod divided up the lands of Vladimir and Smolensk. In both instances each of the three Yaroslavichi was allotted a comparable territory; Svyatoslav was no exception. In 1069, before Izyaslav returned to Kiev, Novgorod fell seemingly by chance into Svyatoslav's hands. Four years later we are not told whether Svyatoslav intended to drive out only Izyaslav from Kiev or if he planned to expel the Izyaslavichi from their lands as well. In any case, the Izyaslavichi found it expedient to flee with their father and thereby forfeit control of their principalities. These reverted to Svyatoslav as prince of Kiev. Again, it appears that his acquisition of Izyaslavichi lands (Turov, Vladimir, Smolensk, and Polotsk) was more the result of circumstance than of policy.

If territorial gain was truly Svyatoslav's primary objective, why was he content to stop his expansionism after evicting Izyaslav? He could have

¹⁸⁰ It might be argued that Svyatoslav imitated his father's usurpation of 1019 when Svyatopolk, the evicted prince, also fled to the Poles. However, the latter fled from the field of battle and, to judge from the account, had Yaroslav been given the opportunity he would have killed his elder brother (Ipat., cols. 131-2; Lav., cols. 144-5).

seized the domains of his less effectual younger brother Vsevolod even more easily. And yet, during the three years that he was to rule Kiev, Svyatoslav not once attempted to deprive Vsevolod of his patrimony. Instead, as we shall see, he divided up Izyaslav's territories with him. This demonstrates that his motives for occupying Kiev were neither an unbri-dled ambition to control as much land as possible nor the desire to obtain absolute power in Rus'.

By occupying Kiev Svyatoslav obviously satisfied a great personal ambition. However, it has already been pointed out that he had another motive, one strongly influenced by his declining health. Svyatoslav seized the throne of his father to secure for his sons the right to rule from the throne of their father as well. Usurpation was an acknowledged path to power; Svyatoslav was merely following the examples of his father Yaroslav and grandfather Vladimir. Neither his violation of Yaroslav's genealogical order of succession nor the short duration of his reign invalidated his rule in Kiev. The most important consideration was that his rule be acclaimed by the Kievans and the other princes of Rus'. After his accession to Kiev was legitimized in this fashion, it mattered little whether he predeceased his exiled brother or not. The right of succession for his sons was guaranteed and they would not become *izgoi*.

Svyatoslav also had a personal non-political objective which may have further inclined him towards usurpation. It has been noted that in the previous year (1072) he received a favour from St. Gleb. As we shall see, after he occupied Kiev Svyatoslav began building a large stone church in Vyshgorod in honour of the two martyrs. We may assume that his desire to honour the saints in this manner was greatly influenced by his experience at the translation ceremony. Indeed, it may well have been on that occasion that he pledged to build the church. In order to fulfill his oath he had to obtain permission from Izyaslav who, as prince of Kiev, had jurisdiction over Vyshgorod. It is unlikely that the latter responded favourably to Svyatoslav's request since the stone church was meant to replace the wooden one Izyaslav had built. Given Svyatoslav's ailment, his conviction that St. Gleb had honoured him with a special sign, and his determination to express his gratitude to the saint, Izyaslav's refusal must have intensified his discontent with his brother's rule. In fact, the question of the stone church was probably another subject of the "quarrels" which led to Svyatoslav's seizure of power.

After Izyaslav fled to the Poles the order of succession to Kiev

changed. As long as Izyaslav remained in exile only the two families of Yaroslavichi which remained in Rus' enjoyed the right of succession. Vsevolod would replace Svyatoslav and, after his death, succession would revert to Svyatoslav's family, that is, to his eldest surviving son. Nevertheless, even though Izyaslav and his sons were in exile, and even though they were dispossessed of their territories, they remained eligible candidates for succession unlike the debarred families of Vladimir, Igor' and Vyacheslav. If Izyaslav obtained the necessary military assistance, he (or after his death his eldest surviving son) could return to reclaim his rightful office.

J. SVYATOSLAV IN KIEV

Nestor writes that after Svyatoslav and Vsevolod drove out Izyaslav from the land of Rus', the one sat on the throne of his brother and father in Kiev, and the other went to his domain [Pereyaslavl'].¹⁸¹ The monk tells us no more. He fails to describe the agreement Svyatoslav and Vsevolod reached for the distribution of the domains left vacant by Izyaslav and his sons. These included Kiev, Polotsk, Turov, Vladimir, and Smolensk.

Polotsk, as we have seen, had not belonged to Yaroslav but to his elder brother Izyaslav. Later, in the hope of compensating for his loss of Novgorod, Yaroslav's son Izyaslav seized it from Vseslav. After Svyatoslav drove out Izyaslav from Kiev he apparently returned Polotsk to Vseslav.¹⁸² Of the three Yaroslavichi, Svyatoslav was on the friendliest terms with Vseslav; he was the only one who, as prince of Kiev, did not go to war against the prince of Polotsk.¹⁸³

The sources tell us even less concerning the fate of the other four domains. It appears that Svyatoslav used a simple formula for dividing

¹⁸¹ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 121.

¹⁸² According to Monomakh's "Instruction," Vsevolod and Monomakh marched against Polotsk [i.e., against Vseslav] after Svyatoslav's death and before 1077 when Izyaslav returned as prince of Kiev (Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211). This implies that Svyatoslav reinstated Vseslav in his patrimony.

¹⁸³ According to the "Instruction" both Vsevolod and Izyaslav waged campaigns against him after Svyatoslav's death. Vsevolod attacked Polotsk with Monomakh in 1077 before Izyaslav returned to Kiev the second time; after he returned, Izyaslav sent his son Svyatopolk and Monomakh against Polotsk (Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211).

them up with Vsevolod. He kept the choice portion for himself and gave the next one to Vsevolod, and so on. According to this procedure, Svyatoslav got Kiev and Vsevolod got Turov. There is no question concerning the former, and the latter is alluded to by Monomakh in his "Instruction." He writes that from Novgorod (ruled by Svyatoslav's son Gleb) he went to Turov; in the spring he travelled to Pereyaslavl', then again back to Turov, and then Svyatoslav died.¹⁸⁴ His visits to Turov suggest he was attending to administrative duties in that town because it belonged to his father.¹⁸⁵

Svyatoslav's next job was to allot the towns of Vladimir and Smolensk. According to the formula, he evidently kept Vladimir for himself. This is all the more likely since he himself had ruled there before Yaroslav's death. The allocation is supported by information from Monomakh's "Instruction" which states that after Svyatoslav's death Oleg was removed from Vladimir.¹⁸⁶ Sphragistic evidence, albeit tenuous, also testifies to Oleg's rule in the Vladimir region. Seals allegedly bearing Oleg's symbol of ownership were found in Dorogichin, a trading center located on the frontier between Vladimir and the lands of the Poles.¹⁸⁷ The only period in his political career when Oleg could have had authority over trade in Dorogichin was when his father was prince of Kiev.

At this point in our investigation it is useful to make an aside concerning Oleg. After Svyatoslav occupied Kiev the most important towns under his jurisdiction after his patrimony of Chernigov were Novgorod

¹⁸⁴ Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211.

¹⁸⁵ See also Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 80; P. F. Lysenko, "Kiev i Turovskaya zemlya," *KZZR*, pp. 91, 95.

¹⁸⁶ Monomakh writes that after Svyatoslav's death, when Vsevolod was prince of Chernigov, Oleg came to Chernigov after being expelled from Vladimir (Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 212; see Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," p. 248; cf. Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 80, and his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 62, 67).

¹⁸⁷ B. A. Rybakov, "Znaki sobstvennosti v knyazheskom khozaystve Kievskoy Rusi X-XII vv.," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, no. 6 (M.-L., 1940), pp. 245, 233, ris. 10; A. V. Oreshnikov, "Klassifikatsiya drevneyshikh russkikh monet po rodovym znakam," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, VII seriya, Otdelenie gumanitarnykh nauk, no. 2 (L., 1930), pp. 109-10; N. P. Avenarius, "Drogichin Nadbuzhskiy i ego drevnosti," *Drevnosti severo-zapadnogo kraya*, vol. I, vyp. 1, in "Materialy po arkheologii Rossii," izdavaemye Imperatorskoyu arkheologicheskoyu kommissieyu (Spb., 1890), pp. 3, 28.

and Vladimir. Since he appointed his eldest son Gleb to rule Novgorod, it is reasonable to assume that he sent his second eldest son to rule Vladimir.¹⁸⁸ We have just observed that Oleg ruled Vladimir. This is additional evidence to support the claim that Oleg was next in precedence after Gleb. A late chronicle also seems to corroborate this view. It reports that Svyatoslav who sat on the throne of Kiev had received Chernigov as his patrimony and his sons were Gleb and Oleg.¹⁸⁹

Since Svyatoslav kept Vladimir for himself, we may assume that he gave Smolensk to Vsevolod. However, the sources provide no information to substantiate this claim as even Monomakh fails us here and neglects to mention Smolensk in his "Instruction." During Svyatoslav's rule in Kiev Monomakh was busy travelling to the Poles and to the towns of Novgorod, Turov and Pereyaslavl'. He does report that Izyaslav sent him to Smolensk before 1073 and again after Svyatoslav's death.¹⁹⁰ This evidence suggests that Svyatoslav delegated Monomakh to administer Turov rather than Smolensk and that he probably gave Smolensk to Vsevolod's younger son Rostislav.

We may draw the following conclusions. On seizing Kiev, Svyatoslav also gained control of Polotsk, Turov, Vladimir and Smolensk. He returned Polotsk to Vseslav, its rightful ruler. Svyatoslav himself occupied Kiev and gave Vladimir to his second eldest son Oleg. The other two towns he gave to Vsevolod: Turov was administered by Vladimir Monomakh, and Smolensk, most likely, by Rostislav.

Let us now turn to the remaining domains. When Svyatoslav moved to Kiev he vacated Chernigov. We are not told who replaced him. Although there is no consensus of opinion among historians concerning the fate of Svyatoslav's patrimony, most of them hold that he gave it to his brother Vsevolod.¹⁹¹ A few claim Svyatoslav himself retained control of

¹⁸⁸ As we have seen, this was the procedure followed by Yaroslav when he allocated domains to his sons. He gave Vladimir to Svyatoslav who was next in precedence after Izyaslav.

¹⁸⁹ Nikon., p. 100.

¹⁹⁰ Lav., col. 247.

¹⁹¹ See, for example, Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy*, pp. 91-2; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 81; V. G. Lyaskoronsky, *Istoriya Pereyaslavl'skoy zemli s drevneyshikh vremen do poloviny XIII stoletiya* (K., 1897), pp. 296-7; Zotov, p. 250; Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii drevney Rusi," p. 22; A. D. Stokes, "Kievan Russia," *An Introduction to Russian History*, ed. R. Auty and D. Obolensky (Cambridge, 1976),

Chernigov after he moved to Kiev.¹⁹²

The opinion that Svyatoslav gave Chernigov to Vsevolod contradicts Yaroslav's patrimonial allocations and the evidence of the sources. Yaroslav allocated permanent patrimonies to his sons. Accordingly, Izyaslav, retained control of Turov when he occupied Kiev, and Svyatoslav was expected to keep Chernigov in the same manner. A number of the sources actually state that Vsevolod returned to Pereyaslavl' after Svyatoslav occupied Kiev.¹⁹³ In the "Instruction" Monomakh also alludes to his father's rule in Pereyaslavl' while Svyatoslav was in Kiev. He describes his peregrinations between different towns and never mentions visiting Chernigov; he did visit Pereyaslavl', presumably because his father was there.¹⁹⁴ Svyatoslav himself confirmed his direct control over his patrimony when he chose to be buried in Chernigov rather than Kiev.¹⁹⁵

We have no way of knowing if Svyatoslav sent a son to rule Chernigov or if he appointed a *posadnik*.¹⁹⁶ Later evidence suggests he retained direct control over his patrimony through a mayor just as his father Yaroslav had controlled Chernigov when he was prince of Kiev.¹⁹⁷

Just as Svyatoslav kept his patrimony, Vsevolod retained control of Pereyaslavl' including a part of the Rostov-Suzdal' lands. We shall see below that Svyatoslav assumed control of the Beloozero-Yaroslavl' region after he occupied Kiev and sent his boyar to collect tribute there.¹⁹⁸ Per-

p. 69; V. L. Yanin and G. G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proiskhozhdenii Vladimira Monomakha," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii sbornik* (M., 1962), p. 206; Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 446; Rapov, p. 208, and others.

¹⁹² See, for example, Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 80, and his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 40, 62, 69; Kuchkin "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," p. 70; Tolochko, "Kiev i Chernigov v IX-XIII vv.," p. 17.

¹⁹³ Nestor writes that after Svyatoslav occupied Kiev "the other [Vsevolod] returned to his own domain [Pereyaslavl']" (*Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 121). Cf. Gust. which says Vsevolod returned to Pereyaslavl', but places the information wrongly under the year 1070 (p. 27).

¹⁹⁴ Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211.

¹⁹⁵ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199.

¹⁹⁶ One view has it that Oleg ruled Chernigov at this time (Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 166). This is incorrect since, as we have seen, Oleg was ruling Vladimir.

¹⁹⁷ Tolochko, "Kiev i Chernigov v IX-XIII vv.," p. 17.

¹⁹⁸ Kuchkin, "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," p. 70; see below, pp. 109-10.

haps Svyatoslav required his brother to turn over a portion of the north-east region in exchange for the Turov and Smolensk lands. We are not told.

Svyatoslav took advantage of his newly acquired authority to grant domains to a number of his sons, but the information for this is incomplete. We know that in 1069 Gleb was prince of Novgorod. On occupying Kiev Svyatoslav merely confirmed the appointment and Gleb continued to rule there until 1078, the year of his death.¹⁹⁹ Svyatoslav also made an important new appointment. He gave Vladimir, the most powerful town he acquired through usurpation aside from Kiev, to his second eldest son Oleg.²⁰⁰ Ironically, even though Svyatoslav acquired Vladimir as a result of force, Oleg had a legitimate claim to rule the town because it had been the throne of his father before the death of Yaroslav "the Wise."

Roman, Svyatoslav's fourth son, has yet to be identified by the sources. Under the year 1077 the chronicles speak of him as the prince of Tmutarakan'.²⁰¹ However, the PVL does not state at what date Svyatoslav appointed him to the town. Gleb ruled there until around 1068 when he moved to Novgorod. Given that Oleg was next in precedence, and given that he did not occupy Vladimir until Svyatoslav seized Kiev in 1073, it is highly probable that Oleg replaced Gleb in Tmutarakan'. After Svyatoslav captured Kiev and moved Oleg to Vladimir he probably gave Tmutarakan' to Roman.²⁰²

David, the third eldest Svyatoslavich, had the most elusive career of

¹⁹⁹ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199; cf. s.a. 1079, NPL, p. 201. Under 1071 Gleb is referred to as prince of Novgorod (Ipat., cols. 170-1; Lav., cols. 180-1; NPL, p. 196). In 1074 he visited the Caves Monastery in Kiev, evidently as prince of Novgorod (Ipat., col. 177; Lav., col. 187; NPL, p. 201).

²⁰⁰ Cf. Rybakov who claims Oleg is mentioned in the sources for the first time under 1073 when his father gave him the distant Rostov' land as his domain, but he does not document his claim (*Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 446). As we have seen, the first reference to Oleg is under the year 1073 when we are merely told that he was the second of Svyatoslav's sons (Nikon., p. 100).

²⁰¹ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199.

²⁰² For Oleg's rule in Tmutarakan' see pp. 162-75. A seal bearing the image of St. Roman on one side and the inscription "Lord, help your servant Roman" on the other was found near the town Starye Bezradichi near Kiev. The seal has been attributed to Svyatoslav's son Roman (Yanin, *Actovye pečati*, pp. 31-2). Perhaps it was during the years of Svyatoslav's rule in Kiev that Roman sent him a missive from Tmutarakan'.

all. We know almost nothing of his early years even though he was older than Roman and, therefore, should have received a domain before him. The only important towns under Svyatoslav's jurisdiction which remain unaccounted for are Chernigov and Murom. There is no evidence that Svyatoslav appointed a son to rule Chernigov while he was prince of Kiev. However, he must have appointed either a son or a *posadnik*, to administer Murom, the patrimony of his favourite saint, St. Gleb. Since David is the only son unaccounted for, it is possible that he ruled Murom.

The suggestion that Svyatoslav appointed the elder son David instead of Roman to the less important domain is not without foundation. For devotional reasons Svyatoslav may have sent his most pious son, and the one who bore St. Gleb's Christian name, to replace the martyr in Murom. For practical considerations Svyatoslav sent David who was, as we shall see, politically the most ineffective, to the distant outpost of Murom where he would play no significant part in the politics of Rus'.

Svyatoslav's youngest son Yaroslav was a half-brother to all the others; his mother was Svyatoslav's second wife, the German countess Oda. He was evidently born much later than his half-brothers and, according to the witness of the family portrait in the "*Izbornik* of 1073," was merely a child when Svyatoslav ruled Kiev. Therefore, it is unlikely that Svyatoslav gave him a domain.²⁰³ This is supported by the evidence that, after Svyatoslav's death, Oda fled with her son to Germany where he remained for an undetermined number of years until he was summoned back to Rus'.

As was to be expected, Svyatoslav asserted his control over most of the lands of Rus'. He and his sons ruled the domains of Kiev, Chernigov, Novgorod, Vladimir, Tmutarakan', Murom, and part of the Volga district around the towns of Beloozero and Yaroslavl'. Just the same, he gave half of the domains seized from Izyaslav, that is Turov and Smolensk, to his younger brother. This is important for it reveals that, even though he had an excellent opportunity, Svyatoslav demonstrated no desire to assume direct control over all the lands of Rus'. Instead, he adopted what might loosely be labeled a duumvirate form of government: he ruled like an

²⁰³ Cf. Mavrodin who says Svyatoslav appointed Yaroslav to Murom (Mavrodin, "*Ocherk istorii drevney Rusi*," p. 22).

autocrat but worked hand in glove with Vsevolod.²⁰⁴

We have little information concerning Svyatoslav's reign. The reasons for this are in the main two. It was short and peaceful. However, the latter need not have been the case had Svyatoslav antagonized the Kievans like Izyaslav, or as has been suggested, adopted an expansionist policy against Vsevolod. Instead, he lived in peace with his subjects and appeased the princes of Rus'. The success of his reign is attested to by the absence of any criticism in the sources. After the deaths of his successors such as Izyaslav, Vsevolod, Izyaslav's son Svyatopolk, and his own grandson Vsevolod, the chroniclers expressed disapproval with their rule. Although Svyatoslav was berated vehemently for his usurpation, the annalists levied no harsh words against him for his administrative practices.

Svyatoslav's first concern was to secure Vsevolod's loyalty. He did so successfully. Vsevolod caused no difficulties and was content with the territories Svyatoslav gave him. This, at any rate, can be construed from Monomakh's "Instruction." He describes his travels from one territory to another, at times on behalf of his father, at other times as Svyatoslav's agent. His reports also reveal that a close bond of friendship developed between him and Svyatoslav's sons Gleb and Oleg. Monomakh's eldest son Mstislav was evidently born at Gleb's court in Novgorod and Oleg became his godfather.²⁰⁵

Since Monomakh's first son was born in 1076,²⁰⁶ he probably married Gytha, the daughter of King Harold of England, a year or two earlier.²⁰⁷ Accordingly, the ceremony took place during Svyatoslav's reign, with his approval, and, almost certainly, in his presence. It is also noteworthy that in 1074 Gleb came to Kiev and was present with his father at Abbot Feodosy's deathbed.²⁰⁸ The purpose of Gleb's visit is unknown, but it is unlikely that he came in anticipation of the monk's death. Rather, it is possible that he was invited to attend Monomakh's wedding which,

²⁰⁴ Svyatoslav's sovereign status and Vsevolod's collaboration is clearly illustrated in Monomakh's short reference to the campaign in 1076 against the Czechs. In the "Instruction" he states: "Svyatoslav sent me to the Poles" (s.a. 1076, Lav., col. 199; Ipat., col. 190; cf. Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 84).

²⁰⁵ Lav., col. 247; cf. PC, p. 211; see also Monomakh's letter to Oleg (Lav., cols. 252, 254; PC, p. 216; Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh*, pp. 157, 161).

²⁰⁶ Ipat., col. 190.

²⁰⁷ Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," pp. 89-90.

²⁰⁸ NPL, p. 201; Ipat., col. 177.

we may assume, was celebrated in the company of Svyatoslav's and Vsevolod's families. The information that Monomakh's eldest son was later born at Gleb's court supports the observation that the two eldest sons of Svyatoslav and Vsevolod cultivated a special friendship.

Svyatoslav was also not opposed by the families of *izgoi* princes. There is no reliable information concerning the fate of the sons of Rostislav of Tmutarakan' and the Igor'evichi for the period of Svyatoslav's reign. We shall see that, after Svyatoslav's death, Volodar Rostislavich and David Igorevich fled (it is unknown from where) and attacked Tmutarakan' like Rostislav had done (1064).²⁰⁹ Since they demonstrated no such discontent during Svyatoslav's reign we may assume their uncle treated them fairly. He probably gave them towns from the territories vacated by Izyaslav's sons, perhaps in the Vladimir region. Such an action, at any rate, would have been consistent with the conciliatory policy he adopted towards Vseslav of Polotsk whom he reinstated in his patrimony.²¹⁰

Even less is known about the descendants of Vyacheslav of Smolensk, the youngest Yaroslavich. Under the year 1077 the PVL refers to one son, Boris.²¹¹ Significantly, he was allied with Oleg and Roman against their uncles Izyaslav and Vsevolod. To judge from his loyalty to Svyatoslav's family we may again assume that Svyatoslav appeased him in some manner, undoubtedly, by giving him a town.

The Kievans who had been instrumental in Izyaslav's overthrow also rallied round Svyatoslav. The sources record no discontent on the part of the boyars and townsmen. Indeed, it is ironic to discover that whereas Izyaslav was overthrown with the help of the townsmen but enjoyed the wholehearted support of the monks of the Caves Monastery, Svyatoslav was castigated by Abbot Feodosy for helping the *veche* against Izyaslav. We shall see, however, that the abbot became reconciled with Svyatoslav

²⁰⁹ Lav., col. 204; Ipat., col. 196.

²¹⁰ There is additional albeit indirect evidence to suggest Svyatoslav adopted a pacific policy. As we shall see, Oleg named one of his sons Igor', no doubt, after the uncle for whom he evidently had special affection (see p. 175). Similarly, in 1081 when David and Volodar' attacked Tmutarakan' they captured it from Vsevolod who had exiled Oleg. Their action may have been motivated, at least in part, by loyalty to their cousin (see below, pp. 161-2). Such bonds of loyalty would have been initiated during Svyatoslav's lifetime.

²¹¹ Ipat., cols. 190, 192; Lav., cols. 199, 201.

and founded a new church under the prince's patronage. Before his death the monk also placed the monastery under Svyatoslav's protection.

Thus we see that Svyatoslav faced no overt opposition in Rus'; his only potential source of trouble was the ousted Izyaslav who sought aid from foreign rulers. According to the PVL, Izyaslav fled to Boleslav II with whose help he hoped to raise an army. Unlike his efforts in 1068, his solicitations on this occasion proved fruitless. The Poles took his money and drove him from their lands. From other sources we learn that, around a year and a half after Izyaslav left Kiev, Boleslav II sent the fugitive packing to Mainz advising him to try his luck with Emperor Henry IV of Germany.²¹²

In 1075 the emperor sent a delegation to Kiev headed by Svyatoslav's brother-in-law Bishop Burchard of Trier. It is worth noting that in this PVL account we encounter one of the few negative reports about Svyatoslav's reign. When the envoys came to Svyatoslav, we are told, he boasted of his wealth showing them unmeasurable amounts of gold, silver, and brocades. On seeing his wealth they allegedly retorted in the following manner: "These riches are useless; they lie dead. Soldiers are preferable to wealth. With them one can win even greater possessions."²¹³ The chronicler placed into the mouths of the German envoys the dictum of Prince Vladimir who stated that a prince's *druzhina* is worth more than any amount of wealth.²¹⁴

Although the Kievan scribe puts the censure into the mouths of the Germans, they nevertheless happily accepted Svyatoslav's priceless gifts and the emperor's court was duly impressed with them.²¹⁵ With this magnanimous gesture Svyatoslav proved his critics wrong; he demonstrated that instead of hoarding dead wealth he distributed it willingly.

²¹² Ipat., col. 173; Lav., col. 183; NPL, pp. 197-8. See also PC, p. 267, fn. 230; Oljancyn "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izyaslav-Demeter," pp. 400-8; Golovko, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha*, pp. 52-3.

²¹³ Ipat., cols. 189-90; Lav., cols. 198-9; PC, pp. 269-70, fn. 238.

²¹⁴ Hrushevsky suggests the reference to dead wealth may be reflecting the thoughts of the disaffected Kievan *druzhina* which was relegated to a position of second rank behind Svyatoslav's own retainers whom he brought from Chernigov (*Ocherk*, pp. 83, 86; Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy*, p. 88).

²¹⁵ *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, *Prilozheniya*, p. 409; see also *Latinoazychnyye istochniki po istorii Drevney Rusi: Germaniya IX-pervaya polovina XII v.*, gen. ed. M. B. Sverdlov (M.-L., 1989), pp. 162-3, 164-5.

Indeed, other evidence confirms that the scribe's reproach was groundless. Svyatoslav expended much wealth on churches, monasteries, and other cultural activities.²¹⁶

Having failed with the emperor, Izyaslav's last recourse was to turn to Rome. He sent his son to Pope Gregory VII begging the pontiff to intervene on his behalf with the Poles. The pope did send a letter to Boleslav II, but the king remained unmoved.²¹⁷

One of the reasons Boleslav II refused to help Izyaslav was no doubt his marriage bond with Svyatoslav. The king's wife was Svyatoslav's daughter; he preferred to stay on amicable terms with his father-in-law than with Izyaslav, his uncle through marriage. Another reason was that the king was confronted with a military crisis and Svyatoslav promised him military aid in return for his support, or, so it would appear.

The chronicles make no direct connection between Izyaslav's plea to Boleslav II and the troops Svyatoslav sent the king; but the association is a logical one to make. Under the year 1076 the PVL has a short entry reporting the only campaign Svyatoslav organized as prince of Kiev. We are simply told that he sent his son Oleg and his nephew Monomakh to help the Poles against the Czechs. In his "Instruction" Monomakh adds that he travelled beyond the point called Glogov into the Bohemian forest and roamed in that country four months.²¹⁸

The success or failure of Oleg's and Monomakh's joint expedition had no bearing on the politics of Rus'. However, Svyatoslav's gesture of support to Boleslav II illustrated first that he acted in alliance with his younger brother Vsevolod who sent his son Monomakh. And second, it showed that while Izyaslav was pleading his case with the king, Svyato-

²¹⁶ Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, p. 43.

²¹⁷ J. P. Arrignon, "A propos de la lettre du pape Gregoire VII aux prince de Kiev Izyaslav," *Russia Mediaevalis*, Tomus III (Munchen, 1977), pp. 5-18.

²¹⁸ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199; see also Tat., 4, p. 157, cf. 2, p. 91. Concerning Monomakh's report see Lav., col. 247; PC, p. 211. Boleslav was an ally of Pope Gregory VII, but Vratislav II, the duke of Bohemia, sided with Emperor Henry IV. Evidently, in 1076 near Meissen, Henry and Vratislav confronted Boleslav. What part Oleg and Monomakh played in this encounter is unclear (Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," pp. 90-1; PC, p. 270, fn. 239; cf. A. B. Golovko, "Problema politicheskogo i voennogo soyuza v otnosheniyakh Rusi i Pol'shi (30-e gody XI—30-e gody XII v.)," *Sovetskoe slavyanovedenie*, 4 (M., 1986), p. 55, and his *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha*, pp. 54-5).

slav also kept in close contact with him. Given that Oleg was prince of Vladimir, the principality of Rus' which lay next to the Polish lands, he probably acted as the intermediary between his father and his brother-in-law Boleslav.

The latter had good reason to refuse Izyaslav aid owing to his war with the Czechs, but he was also influenced by the unpleasant memories of his first intervention on Izyaslav's behalf. In 1069 his troops were denied the satisfaction of pillaging Kiev owing to Svyatoslav's and Vsevolod's threat. Moreover, many of Boleslav's soldiers were secretly killed by the people of Rus' when they were billeted in the countryside.²¹⁹ Izyaslav's dogged search for military aid therefore proved futile and Svyatoslav's authority remained secure.

To judge from chronicle silence, Svyatoslav was not troubled with Polovtsian attacks. During his reign they apparently remained inactive and caused him no special concern.

Finally, the written sources give us little information concerning Svyatoslav's contacts with Byzantium. As we shall see, he hired Greek painters to decorate the church of the Assumption in the Caves Monastery which shows that he maintained cultural contacts with Constantinople. However, we have no reliable evidence to indicate that he maintained diplomatic ties with the imperial court. There is one unique item of information of unknown provenance which claims this was the case. Since there is a slight possibility the account is based on fact, let us report it briefly.

Emperor Michael VII Ducas (1071-78) seized power from his father Roman; soon after, he was defeated by the Bulgars and rejected as emperor by the citizens of Cherson.²²⁰ Therefore, he sent envoys to Svyatoslav asking him and Vsevolod to come to his aid. The brothers agreed; Svyatoslav himself prepared to march against the Bulgars with his sons, but dispatched Gleb and his nephew Monomakh to besiege Cherson. Shortly thereafter, even though he became mortally ill, Svyatoslav sent messengers to Byzantium assuring the emperor that he would either come in person or send his sons. After Svyatoslav died Vsevolod received word of Emperor Michael's death as well. He therefore disbanded the troops

²¹⁹ Ipat., col. 163; Lav., col. 174.

²²⁰ Cherson was called Chersonesus by the Greeks and Korsun' by the people of Rus'. It is located on the Crimean coast some three kilometers west of modern Sevastopol' (PC, p. 247, fn. 94).

and recalled his son from Cherson.²²¹

We see, therefore, that Svyatoslav's reign was peaceful. The people of Rus' and the princes, including the debarred families, were content with his distribution of domains and administration. He was also held in high esteem by foreign powers to judge from his successful negotiations with the Germans and the Poles. The lack of political opposition enabled him to actively pursue ecclesiastical and cultural projects.

K. SVYATOSLAV AND THE CHURCH

The eparchy of Chernigov was probably founded in 992, and its first bishop, Neofit, was appointed by Metropolitan Leontius. The sources tell us very little about the ecclesiastical administration of Chernigov after that time, and the occasional snippet of evidence that they do give is often enigmatic.

One useful item of information has been preserved from a document written some sixty years after Svyatoslav's death. In 1137 Svyatoslav's grandson and namesake, Svyatoslav Ol'govich, passed a statute (*ustav*) regulating the relationship between the bishop and the prince in Novgorod.²²² Its significance for our discussion lies in Svyatoslav's admission of the existence of ancient statutes. He writes:

The statute existed before us in Rus', from our forefathers and

²²¹ Tat., 2, pp. 91-2. Historians have produced strong arguments for rejecting this account as unreliable. Monomakh fails to report the alleged campaign against Cherson in his "Instruction"; at the time of the expedition Gleb was evidently in Novgorod; although the exact dates are not known, in 1076 Monomakh spent four months in the Czech lands after going to Boleslav's aid with Oleg (Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 66; Priselkov, *Ocherki*, p. 129; B. A. Rybakov, *Drevnyaya Rus'*, *Skazaniya-Byliny-Letopisi* [M., 1963], pp. 99-100; cf. A. L. Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy Krym*, [M.-L., 1964], p. 77). The emperor was deposed in 1078; if Vsevolod recalled his son Monomakh from Cherson after that, it is impossible that Monomakh and Gleb would have been attacking Cherson for over a year and a half.

²²² Three copies of the statute have survived; see Ya. N. Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov v drevney Rusi* (M., 1972), p. 150 f., and his *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy XI-XV vv.*, ed. Ya. N. Shchapov (M., 1976), p. 147; see also *Pamyatniki russkogo prava*, ed. S. V. Yushkov, vol. 2 (M., 1953), pp. 116-23, and V. L. Yarin, *Novgorodskie Akty XII-XV vv.: Khronologicheskii kommentarii* (M., 1991), pp. 138-42.

grandfathers: the bishop is to receive a tithe from tribute, and from wergeld, and from the sale [of goods], [that is] from all income that comes into the prince's treasury.²²³

He therewith not only testifies to becoming acquainted with earlier statutes while he was still living in Rus' in his patrimony of Chernigov, but also admits using them as a model for his document.

The earliest example was the so-called "Statute of Prince Vladimir" (*Ustav knyazya Vladimira*) legislated by Vladimir in the 990s after he adopted Christianity. This short code of laws regulated the relationship between the Church and the prince. It defined the legal status of clergy and the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. As Svyatoslav Ol'govich noted, it was Vladimir who introduced the tithe payment for the Church.²²⁴ Vladimir's son Yaroslav "the Wise" also drew up a code for administering Church affairs.²²⁵ These were no doubt among the more important texts Svyatoslav Ol'govich was citing in his *ustav*.

With his reference to the legislation of his forefathers, he revealed that the texts had been passed down from generation to generation, notably, through his grandfather Svyatoslav. The evidence that they were preserved shows they had a practical value. The princes used them, either in their original state or in a revised form, to regulate their relations with the Church. We may conclude, therefore, that the Church in Chernigov was administered on the basis of the codes of Vladimir and Yaroslav. Svyatoslav, like his grandson in Novgorod, probably revised the original texts according to the requirements of local conditions.

In addition to adopting a legal structure for the ecclesiastical organization in Chernigov, Svyatoslav wished to provide it with suitable architectural structures. In this respect, he had the foundation of his uncle to build on. When Mstislav established Chernigov as the centre of his domain (i.e., one of the two autonomous capitals of Rus', the other one being Kiev), he began building a stone and masonry cathedral. The Holy Saviour Cathedral was intended to give his capital greater ecclesiastical and cultural status. But, owing to his untimely death he failed to complete the

²²³ Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov v drevney Rusi*, p. 156.

²²⁴ Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy*, pp. 6, 126 f.; for the text see his, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, pp. 13-84.

²²⁵ Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy*, p. 6; for the text see his, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy*, pp. 85-139.

project. Yaroslav, who then became the sole ruler of Rus', aped his brother's example and built the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Kiev, but evidently allowed the Holy Saviour in Chernigov to remain unfinished.

The sources do not tell us who completed the Holy Saviour Cathedral. Only two facts are certain: it was unfinished when Mstislav was buried in it (1034), and completed when Svyatoslav was buried in it over forty years later.²²⁶ During that period only two princes were in a position to authorize its construction: Yaroslav, who administered Chernigov for some twenty years (1034-54) after Mstislav's death, and Svyatoslav, who inherited the town as his patrimony and lived there for almost twenty years until he seized Kiev. There is strong evidence to suggest that Svyatoslav completed his uncle's church during his reign.²²⁷

Svyatoslav clearly had a special affection for the cathedral since he was buried in it rather than in St. Sofia in Kiev where he died. Often, when recording princely burials, the chronicles report that a prince was laid to rest in "the church he had built."²²⁸ In this instance the absence of the formula appears to refute Svyatoslav's patronage of the Holy Saviour Cathedral. However, it is more likely that the entry was made by a scribe, probably a native of Kiev, who neglected to give Svyatoslav credit for his achievement.

This, at any rate, is suggested by the silence of the sources. For example, the chronicler went to some pains to record all (or so it would appear) the churches Yaroslav "the Wise" built: the Cathedral of St. Sofia, the Church of the Annunciation over the Golden Gate, the Monastery of

²²⁶ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199.

²²⁷ This view is held by many historians, e.g., A. I. Firsov, "Gorod Chernigov i ego svyatyni," *Istoricheskiy vestnik*, Istoriko-literaturnyy zhurnal, god 24, vol. 94, no. 10, (Spb., 1903), p. 313; V. I. Mezentssev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, vol. XI, nos. 3/4 (1987), p. 368 and others. Cf. M. N. Berezhkov who suggests that Yaroslav completed the basic structure but Svyatoslav decorated it ("K istorii chernigovskago Spasskago sobora," *Trudy chetyr-nadtsatogo arkheologicheskago s'ezda v Chernigove 1908*, vol. 2 [M., 1911], pp. 2-3). Still others claim Yaroslav completed it (e.g., A. L. Yakobson, *Zakonomernosti v razvitii srednevekovoy arkitektury IX-XV vv.* [L., 1987], p. 132; N. N. Voronin, "Zodchestvo Kievskoy Rusi," *Istoriya russkogo iskusstva*, vol. 1, eds. I. E. Grabar' et al. [M., 1953], p. 122).

²²⁸ For example, when Vladimir Yaroslavich died in 1052, "he was buried in Novgorod in the Cathedral of St. Sofia which he himself had built" (NPL, p. 181).

St. George, the Convent of St. Irene. Yaroslav also built a five domed church in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod.²²⁹ It is highly improbable that the annalist would have neglected to report Yaroslav's construction of the Holy Saviour Cathedral had he built it; after all, aside from St. Sofia, it was more magnificent than all the churches for which Yaroslav is given credit. We may conclude that the scribe did not commit an error of omission.

By neglecting to report on the completion of the Chernigov cathedral he was reflecting Yaroslav's and the Kievans' point of view. The prince had a number of reasons for refusing to complete the cathedral of Chernigov. The metropolitan of Rus' resided in Kiev, and it was only fitting that his be the most illustrious church in the land. A cathedral the size of the one begun in Chernigov would detract from the prestige of the metropolitan. What is more, the Kievans objected. Since there was an age-old rivalry between them and the Chernigovans, the Kievans discouraged Yaroslav from adorning Chernigov with a cathedral which would rival their own.

An additional argument, one evidently not used by historians to date, supports the view that Svyatoslav completed the Holy Saviour Cathedral. It is noteworthy that the chapel located to the south [i.e., right] of the main altar was dedicated to St. Nicholas, Svyatoslav's patron.²³⁰ In his cathedral of St. Sofia in Kiev, Yaroslav dedicated a side-altar to his patron St. George. Similarly, Svyatoslav, as the patron of the Holy Saviour Cathedral, dedicated a side-altar to his patron St. Nicholas.

Svyatoslav's church was a domed cruciform structure based on Byzantine models. Its three naves ended with apses in the east: the central one had an altar dedicated to the Transfiguration of Our Lord, the northern one had an altar dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, and the southern one had an altar dedicated to St. Nicholas. The building had five drums covered with cupolas; eight columns supported the superstructure. Vestibules and burial chapels were attached to the exterior of the northern and southern walls. At the north end of the clearly defined narthex stood a tower with a spiral staircase leading to the choirs. The south end was adjoined by a small church which served as a baptistry. But it is unlikely

²²⁹ Ipat., col. 139; Lav., col. 151; PC, p. 137, fns. 167, 168; see also Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 351.

²³⁰ Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," *Chteniya*, pp. 15-6; Berezhkov, "K istorii chernigovskago Spasskago sobora," p. 14. Concerning Svyatoslav's Christian name see Zotov, pp. 33, 239, 256.

that the latter was built by Svyatoslav. Frescoes and mosaics decorated the interior, but all that remains of this work is a copy of the fresco portraying St. Thekla. Pink slate from Ovruch (a town located west of Chernigov on the right bank of the Dnepr) was used to decorate the parapets of the choirs. The floor was also covered with slate slabs and adorned with carved ornamentation and mosaic inlay.²³¹

By completing Holy Saviour Cathedral, Svyatoslav attempted to bring Chernigov to a par, if not ecclesiastically then at least culturally, with Kiev. Consequently, the rivalry which already existed between Chernigov and Kiev when they were the capitals of Mstislav's and Yaroslav's duumvirate, continued after the latter's death when his sons controlled both towns. Indeed, there is information to suggest that Svyatoslav succeeded in upgrading the status of his bishop as well.

The evidence is less than adequate, but two brief and vague references suggest that for a period the bishop of Chernigov was a metropolitan. Let us examine the question in summary form and review the conclusions reached by different historians.

The first reference comes from the description of the translation ceremony of SS. Boris and Gleb in 1072 in Vyshgorod. According to the narrative account the celebration was attended by the three Yaroslavichi, "Metropolitan George of Kiev, the other [second] one Neofit of Chernigov, and bishops Peter of Pereyaslavl'." Later in the text, the author explains that as the princes began carrying the casket containing the body of St. Boris they were preceded by the monks, deacons, priests and then "the

²³¹ The cathedral withstood earthquakes, fires, and enemy attacks, but suffered much damage. The baptistry, burial chapels, vestibules, parts of the central dome and tower have not survived. At a later date the dome and tower were rebuilt, porches were added to the three main exits, and the exteriors of the walls were covered with plaster. On the southwest corner a second tower replaced the baptistry; both towers were crowned with conic cupolas (Mezentsev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," pp. 369-72; Afanas'ev, *Postroenie arkhitekturnoy formy drevnerusskimi zodchimi*, pp. 43-4, 52-6; Voronin, "Zodchestvo Kievskoy Rusi," p. 122; A. I. Komech, *Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo kontsa X- nachala XII v.* [M., 1987], pp. 134 ff.). Concerning the fresco of St. Thekla see V. N. Lazarev, "Zhivopis' i skul'ptura Kievskoy Rusi," *Istoriya russkogo iskusstva*, vol. I, eds. I. E. Grabar' et al. (M., 1953), p. 196. Concerning the exterior chapels see Makarenko, "Chernihiv's'kyi Spas. (Arkheolohichni doslidy r. 1923)," pp. 2-17, 21-35.

two metropolitans" (*mitropolita*) and the bishops.²³² The second relevant reference is found under the year 1089 in the PVL where we read: "In that year the Church of St. Michael at Pereyaslavl' was consecrated by Efrem, the metropolitan of that church...for there had previously been a metropolitanate in Pereyaslavl'."²³³

The references to metropolitans in Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' have given rise to much speculation among historians. They have attempted to answer a number of questions: when were the metropolitans created? how long did they exist? did the designation belong to the eparchy or to the man? were they created in the two towns at the same time and for the same reasons, or were they set up independently of each other? what was their relationship to the metropolitan of Kiev? Few satisfactory answers have been provided.

As has already been noted, in 1026 Mstislav and his elder brother Yaroslav divided the land of Rus' between them. Mstislav made Chernigov his capital. Since he began building a magnificent cathedral he evidently intended to challenge the ecclesiastical supremacy in addition to the political primacy of Kiev. Although he undoubtedly attempted to appoint a metropolitan in Chernigov, there is no documentary evidence to show he succeeded. If he did, the position probably fell into abeyance after Mstislav died and Chernigov reverted to Yaroslav's control in Kiev. Circumstances changed after Svyatoslav inherited Chernigov.

Based on the references to Metropolitans Neofit and Efrem, historians recreated the history of the church in Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' in the following manner. From the entry under 1072 we see that Chernigov had a metropolitan in that year. It has been proposed that he came or was elevated to that office in the 1060s. The same happened in Pereyaslavl'. Both metropolitans were titular and their positions were meant to

²³² *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 62; *Die Altrussischen Hagiographischen Erzählungen*, pp. 55-6; see also Mosk., p. 7. Poppe claims there is also a Greek reference to the metropolitanate of Chernigov. He attempts to identify, unconvincingly, a certain "Maurokastron" with Chernigov (A. Poppe, "Russkie mitropolii Konstantinopol'skoy patriarkhii v XI stoletii," *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, vol. 28 [M., 1968], p. 102). Cf. Honigmann who places "Maurokastron" elsewhere ("Studies in Slavic Church History," pp. 159-62). It is noteworthy that in reporting on Chernigov in the tenth century, Constantine Porphyrogenitus referred to it by its Slavic name, "Tsernigogan" (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 56-7).

²³³ Lav., col. 208; cf. Ipat., col. 200.

represent the new political situation in Rus'. After Yaroslav's death his three eldest sons (Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod) ruled by agreement as a triumvirate. Since they had a type of equality on the political sphere it was appropriate that this be reflected on the ecclesiastical one as well. Constantinople co-operated by making Svyatoslav's and Vsevolod's bishops in Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' titular metropolitans. This placed them on a par (in name at any rate) with the metropolitan of Kiev; but he had jurisdiction over all Rus'.

Since the metropolitan was titular the status was lost in Chernigov in the 1080s with the death of Neofit. Similarly Efrem was the last metropolitan in Pereyaslavl'. Evidently he still held that title in 1089 because he had been elevated to that post before 1078 when Vsevolod moved to Kiev. When Vsevolod became the sole ruler of Rus' after both Izyaslav and Svyatoslav died there was no more reason to continue the titular appointments.²³⁴

This explanation is an excellent attempt to reconstruct events according to the available information. However, it is contradicted by the list which names those in attendance at the translation ceremony. We are told that the "other" or "second" metropolitan was Neofit of Chernigov. That is, there were two metropolitans, not three. In 1072, Peter of Pereyaslavl' was only a bishop; there was no metropolitan in Vsevolod's patrimony. It was only later, in 1089, that Efrem of Pereyaslavl' was a metropolitan. This evidence contradicts the above explanation: Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' were not both given metropolitans in the 1060s.

Is it possible, therefore, to reconstruct the ecclesiastical history of Chernigov? Perhaps not, but the following explanation may reflect the situation more accurately. After 1026, Mstislav, prince of Chernigov, began building the largest church in the land. As one of the two rulers of Rus' he evidently intended to establish a metropolitanate in his capital to give it equal status with Kiev. After he died his plans fell into abeyance as Chernigov came under Kiev's jurisdiction.

²³⁴ Poppe, "L'organisation diocesaine," pp. 180-3, and his "Russkie mitropolii," pp. 103-4; M. D. Priselkov suggests the three metropolitanates were created in 1059 ("Russko-vizantiyskie otnosheniya IX-XII vv.," *Vestnik drevney istorii*, vol. 3[8] [M., 1939], pp. 104-5, and his *Ocherki*, p. 133). See also V. M. Rychka, *Formirovaniye territorii Kievskoy zemli (IX-pervaya tret' XII v.)*, (K., 1988), pp. 54-5; Muller, *Zum Problem des Hierarchischen Status*, pp. 23-5; Shchapov, *Gosudarstvo i tserkov'*, pp. 56-62.

Chernigov's political status was revived with the appointment of Svyatoslav as prince; its ecclesiastical importance rose as well, especially after Svyatoslav completed building the Cathedral of St. Saviour. These developments prompted Svyatoslav to demand that the bishop of Chernigov be elevated to the status of titular metropolitan. The honour was probably conferred primarily out of deference to Svyatoslav rather than to the prelate holding the title. The practice ceased after Svyatoslav's death.

Pereyaslavl' had a different history from Chernigov. Its first prince, Vsevolod, occupied the town after 1054. As has been suggested, the first bishop was probably appointed after that date. However, to judge from the account describing the translation ceremony, by the year 1072 he was not yet a metropolitan. He was in 1089; therefore, the honour was conferred between the two years.

The most likely explanation is that Svyatoslav arranged for his brother's prelate to be promoted after Vsevolod helped him drive out Izyaslav from Kiev. He did this as a gesture of appreciation to Vsevolod for his support, and also because the superior status of metropolitan better reflected Vsevolod's own increased political importance. Svyatoslav and Vsevolod were the two senior princes in Rus', the only two left of their generation. It was only fitting that the position of the prelate in Pereyaslavl' be elevated to correspond with the political status of its prince. After Vsevolod became the prince of Kiev in 1078, there was no more need to continue the titular appointments.

This, then, is a possible interpretation of the vague references to the metropolitans of Chernigov and Pereyaslavl'. But, whatever the circumstances, the important point to remember is that, for a relatively short period, Chernigov had a titular metropolitan. Neofit, who probably died after Svyatoslav, was the last prelate of Chernigov to hold the title. This means that Chernigov had a titular metropolitan even after Svyatoslav moved from his patrimony.

When Svyatoslav occupied Kiev the metropolitan was George. We have no reports how the prince treated the prelate; indeed, it is impossible to know whether they ever lived at the same time in Kiev. Once again the chronicler makes a laconic entry. Under the year 1073 he reports that Abbot Feodosy and Bishop Michael founded the church of the Caves Monastery. 'At that time Metropolitan George was in Byzantium and

Svyatoslav ruled Kiev.²³⁵ The sources neither explain the metropolitan's absence nor report when he departed from Kiev. As a result, we cannot determine whether or not he was already in Byzantium when Svyatoslav seized Kiev.²³⁶ It is futile to speculate. According to the PVL George never returned to Rus' so that Svyatoslav evidently ruled without a metropolitan.²³⁷

Although the sources do not describe Svyatoslav's relations with the metropolitan of Kiev or the patriarch in Constantinople, there is evidence to show that the prince protected and propagated Christianity in Rus' as a whole. For example, he promoted the Orthodox faith through his officials in regions outside his patrimony which lay under his jurisdiction. Information about his activities comes to us through chronicle accounts which report extreme events rather than ordinary happenings that the chronicler found uninteresting to report. Two such accounts describe how the prince's lieutenants successfully confronted sorcerers.

In the one instance a sorcerer (*volkhv*), claiming to be a god, appeared in Novgorod. He deceived many of the townspeople into believing him, but he blasphemed against the Christian faith and incited them against Bishop Fedor. The people became divided into two camps. The one including the bishop, Prince Gleb, and his *druzhina*, believed in the Holy Cross. The other, led by the sorcerer, consisted of the townspeople. When the latter revolted against the bishop and wished to kill him Gleb and his retinue confronted them. Since the sorcerer claimed to know all things the prince challenged him to foretell the future. The deceiver prophesied he would perform great miracles before the day was over. On hearing this Gleb pulled out an axe from underneath his cloak and smote him to the

²³⁵ Lav., col. 183.

²³⁶ Priselkov suggested Svyatoslav expelled the metropolitan because he wished to sever church ties with Constantinople. He bases his argument on two letters Emperor Michael VII Ducas wrote, according to a number of investigators, to Vsevolod, thereby bypassing Svyatoslav ("Russko-vizantiyskie otnosheniya IX-XII vv.," p. 105, and his *Ocherki*, pp. 128-32, 141, 214; PC, pp. 273-4, fn. 265; the texts of the letters are in, V. G. Vasil'evsky, "Dva pis'ma vizantiyskago imperatora Mikhaila VII Duki k Vsevolodu Yaroslavichu," *Trudy*, vol. 2 [Spb., 1909], pp. 3-55). Cf. Levchenko who shows convincingly that the letters were addressed to Robert Guiscard in Italy (*Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiyskikh otnosheniy*, pp. 407-18).

²³⁷ The next reference to a metropolitan is made thirteen years later during Vsevolod's reign in Kiev (see s.a. 1086, Lav., col. 206).

ground. In this way, we are told, the prince demonstrated to the crowd that the man was a sham and they dispersed.²³⁸

In another instance, the Kievan boyar Yan Vyshatich confronted two sorcerers (*volkhvy*) who appeared in the district of Rostov. The men left the town of Yaroslavl', travelled along the river Volga to the town of Beloozero, and terrorized women along the way. They accused the women of causing the famine, killed them with their knives, and seized their possessions. On reaching Beloozero, the sorcerers had a following of about three hundred. At that time Yan was in the district collecting tribute for Prince Svyatoslav. When the inhabitants of Beloozero told him how the wizards were murdering women along the rivers Volga and Sheksna, he inquired to whom the two peasants (*smerda*) belonged. On learning that they were Svyatoslav's subjects, he ordered their followers to hand over the culprits to him as Svyatoslav's agent.²³⁹

They refused, so Yan took a dozen men and pursued them into the forest. After a short skirmish during which Yan's priest was killed the pagan band fled. Finally, Yan turned to the citizens of Beloozero and threatened to remain with them for a year if they did not co-operate.²⁴⁰ The townsmen, therefore, captured the wizards and brought them to him. Because they refused to renounce their pagan ways Yan commanded the relatives of the murdered women to avenge them. The people killed the sorcerers and hanged them from a tree; the following night, we are told,

²³⁸ Ipat., cols. 170-1; Lav., cols. 180-1; cf. NPL, p. 196 which alone gives the bishop's name.

²³⁹ Evidently, after Svyatoslav usurped Kiev, he reached an agreement with Vsevolod whereby he assumed control of part of Vsevolod's Rostov territory, namely Beloozero (his administrative center in the region), Yaroslavl', and settlements along the Sheksna and Volga between the two towns. Significantly, the territory was adjacent to the Novgorod lands which were also under Svyatoslav's control; it reverted to Vsevolod after Svyatoslav's death (Kuchkin, "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," pp. 69-70, and his *Formirovaniye gosudarstvennoy territorii*, [M., 1984], pp. 64-5).

²⁴⁰ Yan's threat reflected Yaroslav's "Russian Law" (*Pravda Rus'skaya*). It stated that a prince's official who acted as judge in the murder of a free citizen and collected the fine, was not to tarry longer than one week in that locality. The law was designed to protect the local inhabitants from undue expense since it was their responsibility to protect the official and his assistants while he was living with them. (Likhachev, *Povest' vremennykh let, chast' vtoraya*, Prilozheniya, p. 403).

a bear came and devoured the bodies.²⁴¹

These are two recorded examples of Christian officials eradicating sorcerers from Svyatoslav's domains. Undoubtedly, there were other less dramatic incidents about which the chroniclers remained silent.²⁴² However, it is impossible to conclude from this information whether or not Svyatoslav had an active policy of extirpating pagans from his lands. In all likelihood, his agents adopted extreme measures only after the wizards became a threat to local order. The first account does not refer to any missionary activity on the part of Svyatoslav's agents in the Novgorod lands; on the contrary, it was the sorcerer who took the initiative in "converting" the townsmen to paganism.

In the Beloozero case we are informed, albeit incidentally, that Yan was accompanied by a priest. The reason for his presence is not reported. Given his active pursuit of the wizards it is possible that he was engaged in missionary activity. In addition to ministering to the spiritual needs of Yan and his entourage, he probably instructed the local inhabitants in Christian doctrine. Adding a priest to a company of government officials making the rounds among half-pagan inhabitants may well reflect a general practice followed by the prince.

Other evidence shows that Svyatoslav and his successors in Chernigov also patronized direct missionary activity. The region of the Vyatichi constituted a large part of his patrimony in the north and its inhabitants were still pagans at the beginning of the twelfth century. On 27 August 1113, Kuksha, a monk of the Caves Monastery in Kiev, was martyred there

²⁴¹ Ipat., cols. 164-8; Lav., col. 175-8; NPL, pp. 192-4. The account is misplaced under the year 1071. Yan was a boyar of Kiev and worked for that prince who, in this instance, was Svyatoslav. According to dendrochronological evidence the drought occurred in the autumn of 1075 and the spring of 1076; Yan was probably in the region at that time (Kuchkin, *Formirovanie gosudarstvennoy territorii*, pp. 62-4, and his "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," pp. 67-9; see also N. M. Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskogo*, vol. 2 [Spb., 1892; Slavistic Printings and Reprintings 189/2, Mouton, The Hague, 1969], p. 54, fn. 141).

²⁴² Sorcerers were a serious obstacle to Christianization. The PVL reports another incident under the year 1071 in Kiev which also may have occurred at a later date during Svyatoslav's rule. A sorcerer came to the town predicting, among other things, that after five years the Dnepr would flow backwards, and the ignorant believed him. Then, one night, the chronicle reports, he disappeared mysteriously (Lav., cols. 174-5).

while preaching the Gospel. Little is known about the man and his work. Since he retained his pagan name contrary to the practice of his fellow monks, we may assume he was not a Slav. Kuksha probably came from the lands of the Vyatichi and later returned to his people as a missionary. Even though he was active in the decades after Svyatoslav's death, the prince must have promoted such proselytizing activity while consolidating his authority over the lands of Chernigov. Kuksha himself was probably a convert instructed in the Christian faith by Chernigovan missionaries.²⁴³

Like Kuksha, other missionaries were probably also monks, but, unlike the martyr, a number may well have been dispatched from Chernigov. Although this is not confirmed by evidence, there is proof that at least one monastic community, perhaps two, existed on the Boldiniy Hills in Chernigov during Svyatoslav's reign and that he patronized them. The information, which is provided by the PVL and by local tradition, is unclear.

The chronicle entry is a short account about Antony of the Caves. In 1069, after Izyaslav returned to Kiev with the help of the Poles, he grew angry with the monk; Antony apparently condemned Izyaslav for breaking his oath to Vseslav and supported the latter. On learning that the holy man was in danger, Svyatoslav sent his men at night to fetch Antony and bring him to Chernigov. When the hermit arrived there he fell in love with the Boldiniy Hills southwest of Chernigov. He dug a cave for himself and resumed the life of a hermit. The chronicler concludes the account with the announcement that "the Monastery of the Mother of God exists on the Boldiniy Hills to this day."²⁴⁴

His statement is confusing for it seemingly contradicts local tradition. The latter holds that in 1060 travellers passing through the quiet woods

²⁴³ *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 110-1; Archbishop Filaret of Chernigov (D. G. Gumilevsky), *Russkie svyaty*, vol. 3, 3rd edition (Spb., 1882), *Khronologicheskiy ukazatel' svyatykh*, p. 2; Arkhimandrit Leonid, "Tserkovno-istoricheskoe izsledovanie o drevney oblasti vyatichy, vkhodivshy s nachala XV i do kontsa XVIII stoletiya, v sostav krutitskoy i chastiyu suzdal'skoy eparkhii," *Chteniya*, bk 2 (M., 1862), pp. 8-10; Arkhimandrit Leonid (L. A. Kavelin), *Svyataya Rus'*, ili svedeniya o vsekh svyatykh i podvizhnikakh blagochestiya na Rusi (do XVIII veka). Obshche i mestno chtemykh (Spb., 1891), pp. 16-7. Others suggest the year 1215 for Kuksha's death (D. A. Eristov, *Slovar' istoricheskiy o svyatykh, proslavlennyykh v rossiyskoy tserkvi, i o nekotorykh podvizhnikakh blagochestiya, mestno chtimyykh* [Spb., 1836], p. 162).

²⁴⁴ *Ipat.*, col. 185; *Lav.*, col. 193; cf. *Gust.*, p. 272; see also *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 186, 202.

covering the Boldiniy Hills were surprised by a bright light. They approached it and discovered on a fir-tree an icon of the Mother of God which appeared to be engulfed in flames. The vision was quickly reported in Chernigov and the icon reverently removed from the tree. Prince Svyatoslav built a church in honour of the Assumption of the Mother of God on the spot, and around the church founded a monastery. As proof of Svyatoslav's patronage, the Chernigovans point to the monastery's *sinodik* with its litany of commemorations, one of which reads, "Remember, Lord, in your heavenly kingdom, the pious Prince Svyatoslav Yaroslavich of Kiev and Chernigov, who founded the monastery of the holy Mother of God."²⁴⁵

Historians have attempted to resolve the discrepancy in the information by suggesting the following sequence of events. Svyatoslav invited Antony to come to Chernigov to the Eletskiy Monastery which the prince founded on the Boldiniy Hills not long before. Antony came, fell in love with the hills, and dug a cave less than a mile from the monastery. On Antony's request Svyatoslav built a church next to the cave, perhaps on the same spot where the one dedicated to the Prophet Elias stands today.²⁴⁶ Edified by the hermit's example, others joined him and formed a monastic community in caves around the church.²⁴⁷ This chronology

²⁴⁵ A. I. Firsov, "Gorod Chernigov i ego svyatyni," *Istoricheskiy vestnik*, Istoriko-literaturnyy zhurnal, god 24, vol. 94, no. 11, (Spb., 1903), pp. 615-6; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 290; Rudakov, "Chetyrnadtsatiy arkheologicheskiy s'ezd i tysyacheletie goroda Chernigova," p. 240.

²⁴⁶ The small church has one apse, one nave, no columns, and one dome. It is the only structure of this type preserved in the Dnepr region. To judge from the identification marks on the bricks, its patron was probably a prince or a bishop (Mezentsev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," pp. 378-9). Historians disagree on the date of its construction. One view holds it was built in the 1130s after the canonization of St. Antony (Yu. S. Aseev, "Stilisticheskie osobennosti chernigovskogo zodchestva XI-XIII vv.," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.*, ed. P. P. Tolochko et al. [K., 1988], p. 136). However, recent studies of building techniques in Kievan Rus' show that it was most likely built towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century (N. V. Kholostenko, "Il'inskaya tserkov' v Chernigove po issledovaniyam 1964-1965 godov," *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura domongol'skoy Rusi* [M., 1972], p. 96).

²⁴⁷ For a description of the caves see Firsov, "Gorod Chernigov i ego svyatyni," no. 11, pp. 626-8; Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," p. 12, f.; A. Efimov, "Eletskiya peshchery pri monastyre togo zhe imeni," *Trudy chetyrnadtsatago*

of events appears to be the correct one, but we have no written evidence to confirm it.²⁴⁸

Whatever the correct identification, for our purposes the important observation is that Svyatoslav introduced or, at any rate, encourage the growth of monasticism in his domain. He founded what appears to be the first monastery in Chernigov, the Elets'kiy. Later, when the opportunity presented itself he brought Antony, the founder of the Caves Monastery, from Kiev. This was an important propaganda coup which bolstered interest in monasticism in Chernigov and enhanced its ecclesiastical prestige. The town could boast not only of having a monastery of anchorites like the Caves Monastery in Kiev, but one that was founded by the same venerable monk, a native of the Chernigov domain.²⁴⁹ Svyatoslav therefore emerged as a defender of monasticism in contrast to his brother Izyaslav who was seen as a persecutor, at least, of Antony. By protecting the latter Svyatoslav demonstrated initiative in fostering monasticism in Chernigov and in expanding the visible presence of the Church in Rus' as a whole.

Given Svyatoslav's patronage of monasticism, it does not come as a

arkheologicheskogo s'ezda v Chernigove 1908, vol. 2 (M., 1911), p. 75; G. G. Pavluts'kiy, "Drevneysh'ee kamennoe zodchestvo," *Istoriya arkhitektury*, vol. 1, Do-petrovskaya epokha, in series "Istoriya russkogo iskusstva," ed. I. Grabar', vol. 1, Arkhitektura (M., 1909), p. 153; Rudenok, V. Ya., "O pervonachal'noy planirovke Il'inskogo peshchernogo monastyrya v Chernigove," *Tezisy istoriko-arkheologicheskogo seminara "Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv."* (15-18 maya 1990 g.), (Chernigov, 1990), pp. 66-9, and his "Novye dannye ob Antonievskikh peshcherakh v g. Chernigove," *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi*, gen. ed., P. P. Tolochko (K., 1990), pp. 135-8.

²⁴⁸ Most historians are of the opinion that the monastery founded by Svyatoslav was the Elets'kiy-Uspenskiy, and the one which arose around Antony's cave became known as the Il'inskiy-Troitskiy (Firsov, "Gorod Chernigov i ego svyatyni," no. 11, pp. 615-6; Mitropolit Moskovskiy Makary, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 2, third edition [Spb., 1889] p. 93; Efimov, "Elets'kiya peshchery pri monastyre togo zhe imeni," pp. 73-6). Cf. Golubinskiy, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 748-9 who suggested Svyatoslav founded the Il'inskiy-Troitskiy. See also V. Ya. Rudenok who suggests that the Il'inskiy Monastery became known by that name in 1649; before that date it was called the Monastery of the Mother of God ("Chernigovskie peshchery v tvorchestve A. F. Shefonskogo," *Mymule Sosnytsi ta ii okolyts* [Chernihiv, 1990], p. 38).

²⁴⁹ Two luminaries of monasticism, both founders of the Kievan Caves Monastery, were from the Chernigov lands. Antony came from Lyubech and Feodosy from Kursk. According to tradition, before going to Mt. Athos and then to Kiev, Antony lived in a cave near his native town of Lyubech. Later, the Antonievskiy Lyubechskiy Monastery arose on that site (Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 298).

great surprise to discover he built a monastery in Kiev as well. We know almost nothing about it since it is mentioned only in passing. Under the year 1147, after explaining that Svyatoslav's grandson Igor' was murdered by the Kievans, the chronicler reports:

Then the abbot [Anania of St. Feodor's Monastery] came and found [Igor's body] naked. He clothed it, sang the customary hymns over it, and took it to the outskirts of the town to the Monastery of St. Simeon. It was the monastery of his father and of his grandfather Svyatoslav. And there he laid him to rest.²⁵⁰

From this we learn that the institution was founded by Svyatoslav and became the patrimonial monastery of his descendants. The account fails to reveal its exact location, the date of its foundation, and why Svyatoslav dedicated it to St. Simeon.

The only clue we are given concerning the location is that the monastery was "on the outskirts of the town." This region has been successfully identified as the Kopyrev "suburb" (*konets*), a commercial and crafts district of Kiev. It lay immediately outside the western gates (i.e., L'vov gates). Beyond it was the region of Dorogozhichi where the road from Kiev forked to the west and to the north, the one leading to L'vov and Vladimir, and the other to Vyshgorod. The area encompassed some 40 hectares.²⁵¹ Archaeologists have discovered the remains of a number of churches in the district and believe St. Simeon can be identified with one of them.²⁵²

When did Svyatoslav build his monastery? The prevalent view is that

²⁵⁰ Ipat., col. 354; cf. Lav., col. 318.

²⁵¹ N. Zakrevsky, *Opisanie Kiev*, vol. 1 (M., 1868), pp. 392-3, 399; Yu. S. Aseev, *Arkhitectura drevnego Kiev* (K., 1982), pp. 102, 107-8; Tolochko, *Drevniy Kiev* (K., 1970), p. 22. In 1638 a monk of the Caves Monastery named I. Kal'nofoysky wrote the book entitled *Teraturgima*; in it he observed that the Church of St. Simeon was still standing in his day (N. Zakrevsky, "Letopis' i opisanie goroda Kiev," *Chteniya*, bk 2 [M., 1858], p. 146).

²⁵² M. K. Karger, *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya drevnego Kiev*, *Otchety i materialy* (1938-1947 gg.), (K., 1951), pp. 209-26; P. P. Tolochko and Yu. S. Aseev, "Novyy pamyatnik arkhitektury drevnego Kiev," *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo: Khudozhestvennaya kul'tura domongol'skoy Rusi* (M., 1972), pp. 80-1.

he did so after 1073 during his reign in Kiev.²⁵³ However, there is strong evidence to support the claim that he founded it before he occupied Kiev. Under the year 1051 the PVL states that, soon after he became prince of Kiev, Izyaslav built the Monastery of St. Dmitry. In 1070 Vsevolod founded the Church of St. Michael in his monastery at Vydubichi (evidently established at an earlier date) located to the south of the Caves Monastery.²⁵⁴ According to this evidence, two of the Yaroslavichi established monasteries in Kiev during the reign of the triumvirate.

There are no grounds for suspecting that Svyatoslav was the exception. As we have seen, during the early years of Izyaslav's rule the three brothers acted with consistent unanimity in all matters: they all shared the lands they appropriated from their brothers, they all participated in military campaigns, and they legislated laws jointly. From this we may conclude they co-operated in all spheres of activity, including religious ones. Accordingly, not just two but all three princes built monasteries in Kiev. Since Izyaslav and Vsevolod established their monastic houses before 1070, Svyatoslav must have done the same, while he was still prince of Chernigov. Like his brothers who built them on the allotments they inherited from their father, Svyatoslav built his monastery on his lot in the Kopyrev "suburb."

Surprisingly, he dedicated the monastic house to St. Simeon. It was customary for princes to dedicate such institutions to their patron saints. This was the practice followed by Svyatoslav's father Yaroslav who dedicated the monastery he built next to the Cathedral of St. Sofia to his patron St. George (i.e., Yur'evskiy monastyr').²⁵⁵ Izyaslav also dedicated the Monastery of St. Dmitry to his patron saint, but Vsevolod, whose Christian name was Andrew, did not.²⁵⁶ It has been suggested that Svyatoslav did as well, but, as we have seen, according to the information of the *Lyubech sinodik*, Svyatoslav's baptismal name was Nicholas.²⁵⁷

To judge from the sources which, granted, are niggardly in supply-

²⁵³ It has also been proposed that he had his court in the monastery (Makary, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 2, p. 85; Zakrevsky, *Opisanie Kiev*, vol. 1, p. 392; Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kiev*, pp. 102, 107-8).

²⁵⁴ For Izyaslav see *Ipat.*, col. 147; *Lav.*, col. 159; for Vsevolod see *Ipat.*, col. 164; *Lav.*, col. 174.

²⁵⁵ *Lav.*, col. 151.

²⁵⁶ Rapov, pp. 44-6.

²⁵⁷ See above, p. 35.

ing information about Svyatoslav's activities, the only association he had with a Simeon was the cultural bequest he received through Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria. We shall see that Svyatoslav ordered a copy made of an anthology which the tsar commissioned for himself. Svyatoslav may have been so impressed with Simeon's introduction of Byzantine culture and religious literature to Bulgaria that he adopted the tsar as his model.²⁵⁸

The prince of Chernigov realized that a prominent physical presence was important to the success of the Church in his domain, but the faith of his people had to be grounded on true doctrine as well. He needed to provide his people with the teachings of the Fathers of the Church and the decrees of the ecumenical councils. To judge from the sources, he assembled an impressive collection of manuscripts and also commissioned a number of compilations.

The most important written works associated with Svyatoslav's propagation of Christian teaching are two miscellanies (*izborniki*). The first, the so-called "Izbornik of 1073" is a translation of Greek manuscripts from the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century. Its immediate prototype was a Bulgarian anthology commissioned by, and addressed to, Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria (893-927). The miscellany contains many excerpts from books of the Bible and treatises by Greek theologians and Fathers of the Church. It also includes studies on secular themes. The manuscript was produced by two scribes, the one unknown and the other a certain Ioann. It has come down to us in some thirty copies. This shows that the Bulgarian anthology and Svyatoslav's copy served as models for many later Slavic copies in Rus' and among the South Slavs.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Tsar Simeon, who was educated in Constantinople, promoted the work of adapting Byzantine learning to the educational needs of his people. His reign has come to be known as 'the golden age of Bulgarian literature' (D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453* [London, 1971], pp. 103-4).

²⁵⁹ For the text see *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda: Faksimil'noe izdanie* (M., 1983); for a study of the text see H. G. Lunt, "On the Izbornik of 1073," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies: Okeanos*, VII (1983), pp. 359-76; I. V. Levochkin, "The Svyatoslav Izbornik of 1073—a Relic of Early Russian Culture," *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 goda: Nauchnyy apparat faksimil'nogo izdaniya*, ed. E. A. Smirnova, (M., 1983), pp. 17, 21; O. V. Tvorogov, "Izbornik 1073 g.," *Slovar' I*, pp. 194-5. It has been suggested, wrongly, that Izyaslav commissioned the work, and that it was readdressed to Svyatoslav after the latter seized Kiev (M. V. Shchepkin, "K izucheniyu Izbornika 1073 g.," *Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073 g. [Sbornik statey]*, ed. B. A. Rybakov [M., 1977], pp. 227-30).

A number of miniatures decorate the miscellany. It begins with a double frontispiece: on the left side Svyatoslav, depicted presenting the *Izbornik* to Christ, stands in front of his wife and sons; on the facing page Christ is portrayed seated on the throne. All details of clothing are carefully defined. For example, Svyatoslav is wearing a dark-blue cloak edged with a wide golden hem and clasped on his right shoulder with a ruby brooch. He has a sable cap with a crown made from golden thread on his head, and on his feet boots of green morocco leather. Above the heads of the individuals the artist inscribed their names. The miniature has historical value because it is one of the oldest family portraits from Rus', and also because it accurately exhibits contemporary princely attire.²⁶⁰

Four additional so-called architectural miniatures decorated the manuscript. In each one different Fathers of the Church whose texts are copied in the miscellany are portrayed standing under the vault of a multi-domed church. The margins are decorated with flowers, pheasants, partridges, and colorful peacocks in the style of Byzantine art.²⁶¹

Svyatoslav's name is mentioned four times in the manuscript. As is to be expected, "Ioann the scribe" sings the praises of his patron. He extolls Svyatoslav as a "new Ptolemy" and describes how the prince filled his storehouses with spiritual books. Like an industrious bee, Svyatoslav sucked out the "sweetness" of learning from each "blossom of writing" and imparted it to his boyars for their enlightenment.²⁶²

If the association suggested above between the names of the Monastery of St. Simeon and Tsar Simeon is valid, we can make an additional observation. Since the monastery was founded before 1073 this means that Svyatoslav was devoted to the memory of the tsar for a number of years

²⁶⁰ For the portrait see the frontispiece; see also A. A. Sidorov, *Risunok starykh russkikh masterov* [M., 1956], pp. 38-9; A. N. Svirin, *Iskusstvo knigi Drevney Rusi XI-XVII vv.* [M., 1964], pp. 53-7; cf. D. Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii, chast' 1: "Kievskiy Period,"* pp. 119-20.

²⁶¹ Svirin, *Iskusstvo knigi Drevney Rusi XI-XVII vv.*, pp. 57-8; O. I. Podobedova, "Eshche odin aspekt izucheniya miniatur Izbornika Svyatoslava," *Drevne-russkoe iskusstvo* (Rukopisnaya kniga), ed. O. I. Podobedova (M., 1983), pp. 75-89. Concerning the restoration of the manuscript see E. V. Shul'gina, "Zavershenie restavratsii 'Izbornika Svyatoslava 1073 g.'," *Arkheologicheskii ezhegodnik za 1982* (M., 1983), pp. 294-5.

²⁶² F. Buslaev, ed., *Istoricheskaya khristomatiya tserkovno-slavyanskago i drevne-russkago yazykov* (M., 1861), cols. 261-2; Pogodin, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do mongol'skago iga*, p. 356.

before his usurpation. He may well have been inspired to collect books, as the scribe Ioann claims he did, by the example of Tsar Simeon. The evidence that Svyatoslav not only acquired one (and perhaps more) of the tsar's manuscripts but also had it copied proves his interest in the Bulgarian's work. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that Svyatoslav's "Izbornik of 1073" was produced in St. Simeon's Monastery.

The information that Ioann completed the miscellany in 1073 is important for another reason. It has been suggested that the scribe began copying the work in the same year after Svyatoslav occupied Kiev in March. Given the observation that Svyatoslav was interested in emulating Tsar Simeon even before that year, it is more likely that he commissioned the work before he deposed Izyaslav.

Unlike the above work, the so-called "Izbornik of 1076" was not merely copied but probably assembled in Rus'. The identity of the compiler and the date of the work's completion are given on the last two pages of the manuscript.

"This book is completed by the hand of the sinful Ioann. [The material] has been selected from many of the prince's books. [I] finish the book in the year 1076, during the reign of Svyatoslav, prince of the land of Rus'. Amen."²⁶³

Although this manuscript, like the "Izbornik of 1073," was evidently produced by the same scribe, it is not as handsome in appearance and poorly illustrated. However, it is rich in patristic texts and contains religious and moral advice for laymen. The treatises were written by, or attributed to, Fathers of the Church such as John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and others.²⁶⁴

Aside from these manuscripts we have no information concerning other religious works Svyatoslav commissioned. Nevertheless, we may assume he instructed monks in his monasteries and scribes at his court, both

²⁶³ I. I. Sreznevsky, *Drevnie pamyatniki russkago pis'ma i yazyka (X-XIV vekov)*, (Spb., 1882), col. 28. It has been suggested that this collection was not commissioned by Svyatoslav, but that Ioann compiled it for himself after completing the "Izbornik of 1073" (O. V. Tvorogov, "Izbornik 1076 g.," *Slovar' I*, pp. 196-7).

²⁶⁴ *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S. I. Kotkov (M., 1965). Vladimir Monomakh cited these texts in his "Instruction" (Buslaev, *Istoricheskaya khristomatiya* col. 300; D. S. Likhachev, "Vladimir Vsevolodovich Monomakh," *Slovar' I*, p. 101).

in Chernigov and Kiev, to compose texts such as prayers, liturgical services, and lives of saints. These works would customarily be ordered for the consecration of new churches or other special liturgical functions. Svyatoslav's completion of Holy Saviour Cathedral, the erection of St. Simeon's monastery, the laying of foundations for the church of the Caves Monastery and the one in Vyshgorod, and the translation ceremony in 1072 were all appropriate occasions for commissioning religious texts. Copies of such works would inevitably be deposited in Svyatoslav's noted library.

In both miscellanies, the scribes refer to Svyatoslav's repository of books in which he stored many religious texts. However, its location remains unknown. Like his father Yaroslav who stored his books in the Cathedral of St. Sofia, Svyatoslav probably deposited his collection in the Holy Saviour Cathedral or in the Monastery of St. Simeon. Since the *"Izbornik of 1076"* was assembled from books available to Ioann locally we have some knowledge of the manuscripts contained in Svyatoslav's library. These included writings of the most eminent personages, religious and secular, of Byzantium. Svyatoslav's scriptorium also produced Church service-books. These were needed for local use and also for newly built churches elsewhere in the prince's domain which had to be supplied with religious texts. Finally, the library served as Svyatoslav's archive where documents such as charters, statutes, and chronicles written in Chernigov and elsewhere were stored.²⁶⁵

Since many of the manuscripts Svyatoslav wished to copy belonged to other libraries, he established close ties with cathedrals and monasteries in other domains, notably, those in Kiev. Of these, the Caves Monastery was one of the most important. In addition to its library, it boasted having the most illustrious scriptorium in Rus' of which Nestor, one of the authors of the PVL, was the leading light. Svyatoslav therefore found it expedient to cultivate friendly relations with its abbot. However, as the prince painfully discovered after he deposed Izyaslav, this was not always an easy task. At that time, one of his main objectives was to win the support of the most prestigious monastic house in the land. Since he was unable to obtain the blessing of Metropolitan George who was in Byzantium,

²⁶⁵ *Istoriya Kiev*, vol. 1, *"Drevniy i srednevekovyy Kiev,"* pp. 154-5. Concerning the writing of chronicles in Chernigov see Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 299-300.

the approbation of Abbot Feodosy became essential.

In his "Life of St. Feodosy" Nestor has several anecdotes recounting the relationship between the two men. He reports how Svyatoslav and Vsevolod invited the abbot to dine with them after they occupied Kiev. However, Feodosy adamantly refused to associated himself with such iniquitous men. He wrote Svyatoslav a letter castigating him in the following manner: "The voice of your brother's blood calls out against you to God, just as Abel's did against Cain." On receiving the letter Svyatoslav became furious and threatened to banish Feodosy. He did not, explains Nestor, out of respect for the monk's holiness.

With the passing of time Feodosy realized his invective was not achieving the desired result so he changed his tactic to one of entreaty. Happy with the *igumen's* change of heart, Svyatoslav visited him in the monastery; Feodosy preached to him on the Holy Books and instructed him at length on brotherly love. Just the same, Svyatoslav resolutely refused to reinstate Izyaslav because of the latter's "many misdeeds" (*mnogo vinu*). After that the two men often visited each other. Nonetheless, the holy monk continued to preach the fear of God and the love for one's brother to Svyatoslav. He continued to recognize Izyaslav as the true prince of Kiev and it was with great difficulty that his brethren persuaded him to include Svyatoslav's name, after Izyaslav's, on the list of commemorations in the liturgy. With tact and perseverance Svyatoslav eventually wore down the Feodosy's opposition to him.²⁶⁶

Two considerations in particular must have influenced the *igumen* to acknowledge Svyatoslav's rule in Kiev. He would have been favourably disposed to the prince because, in 1069, Svyatoslav saved Antony from Izyaslav's wrath. Perhaps even more important, Svyatoslav patronized the building of the major church in Feodosy's monastery. The chronicle reported that in 1073 "the church of the Caves" (i.e., the Assumption of the Mother of God) was founded by Prince Svyatoslav, by Abbot Feodosy, and by Bishop Michael. At that time Metropolitan George was in Byzantium and Svyatoslav was ruling Kiev.²⁶⁷

There is more information. We are told that Feodosy decided to build

²⁶⁶ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 120-4; *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 66-9.

²⁶⁷ *Ipat.*, col. 173; cf. *Lav.*, col. 183. Cf. *Nikon.*, p. 101 which reports Bishop Michael was from Yur'ev, a town on the river Ros' south of Kiev.

a large stone church in honour of the Mother of God because the original one was made of wood. He set out to chose the spot in the company of many monks, but they argued over the new location. By chance, a field belonging to the prince was located nearby and, according to Divine Providence, Svyatoslav himself was riding in it.²⁶⁸ On seeing the crowd he inquired after its purpose. Then, as if inspired by God reports Nestor, the prince pointed to a spot on his field and instructed them to build the church there. The group prayed in thanksgiving and, later, the prince himself helped to dig the trench for the church's foundation.²⁶⁹ Another source states the "Christ-loving" Prince Svyatoslav also donated 100 *grivny* of gold towards its construction.²⁷⁰

Feodosy mellowed after Svyatoslav made his benefaction to the Caves. The two men were completely reconciled by May of 1074 when Feodosy died. At that time, Svyatoslav and his eldest son Gleb, who came from Novgorod, visited the monk on his deathbed. The abbot instructed him to live a holy life, to protect orthodoxy, and to patronize the holy churches. Feodosy prayed to the Lord God and his blessed Mother to protect Svyatoslav's faith, his state, and that the prince's reign be peaceful. Finally, the dying man entrusted the Caves Monastery and the Church of the Mother of God into Svyatoslav's care. The prince was to protect it from the control of the archbishop or any other clergy from St. Sofia. The monastery was to be supervised by Svyatoslav, and after him by his sons and, to the end, only by his descendants.²⁷¹ The prince promised to protect the institution and to support the new *igumen* Stephen.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Evidently, the field was part of the Berestovo estate that belonged to Svyatoslav as prince of Kiev, just as it had belonged to Izyaslav, Yaroslav and Vladimir before him. The Berestovo court was located just north of the Caves Monastery in the direction towards Kiev (see s.a. 1051, *Ipat.*, cols. 143-4; *Lav.*, cols. 155-6).

²⁶⁹ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 124; Cf. Nikon which says Antony blessed the spot on which the church was to be built and died soon after (s.a. 1073, *Nikon.*, p. 101). This suggests that Antony's sojourn on the Boldiniy Hills in Chernigov lasted, at most, four years. A later account states that Svyatoslav was inspired by a vision where to build the church ("Kniga stepennaya," p. 178).

²⁷⁰ *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 8, 69.

²⁷¹ After Svyatoslav's death, his descendants continued to maintain friendly ties with the monastery. The most illustrious example was his grandson Svyatosha (Svyatoslav Davidovich) who renounced his political career to become a monk in the Caves Monastery (see Appendix 3).

²⁷² *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 71-2; *Ipat.*, cols. 177-8; *Lav.*, col. 187; *NPL.*, p. 201.

In a year's time, therefore, Abbot Feodosy reversed his policy towards Svyatoslav completely. At first he condemned the prince for his crime, but before his death he proclaimed Svyatoslav the patron of the Caves Monastery and its church. Izyaslav and the metropolitan were rejected. But, Feodosy's blessing was a two-edged sword.

On the one hand, the favouritism shown to Svyatoslav and his family by the most venerated monk in the land created envy among Svyatoslav's brothers and their ecclesiastical supporters; it inevitably antagonized the clergy of the Cathedral of St. Sofia. The honour also carried obligations. In addition to protecting the monastery from encroachments of other princes and prelates, Svyatoslav's immediate task was to complete the Church of the Assumption.

In 1075, according to the chronicler, Abbot Stephen continued building the church on the foundation laid by Feodosy. Svyatoslav, inevitably, was the main overseer. We know little about the difficulties he encountered or the programme of construction; evidently, he hired artisans from Byzantium. It was an ambitious undertaking and the church has been acclaimed as the most grandiose architectural monument constructed in the second half of the eleventh century. Its cupola, for example, was almost a metre wider in diameter than the one in St. Sofia. But its size had one serious drawback for Svyatoslav: it took too long to finish. The church was not completed until 1077, one year after his death.²⁷³

By befriending Feodosy and receiving his blessing Svyatoslav, concomitantly, received the approbation of the popular Church in Rus'. The Caves Monastery was, as it were, the monastery of the people in that it was not a princely foundation. It owed no allegiance to a particular prince. By freely soliciting the patronage of Svyatoslav and his family, Feodosy therewith acknowledged Svyatoslav's piety, love of the Church, and love of the people. This trust greatly enhanced the prince's renown as protector

²⁷³ Ipat., col. 189, Lav., col. 198. It was not consecrated until 1089 (Ipat., col. 199, cf. s.a. 1081, Lav., cols. 207-8). See also Yu. S. Aseev and V. A. Kharlamov, "Ob arkhitekture Uspenskogo sobora Pecherskogo monastyrya v Kieve (Issledovaniya 1982 g.)," *Arkhiturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 34 (M., 1986), pp. 208-14; A. A. Miller, "The Pecherskij Assumption and Its Influence on Medieval Russian Orthodoxy," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N. F. Band 14 (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 321-4; K. N. Afanas'ev, *Postroenie arkhiturnoy formy drevnerusskimi zodchimi* (M., 1961), pp. 72-5; A. I. Komech, *Drevnerusskoe zodchestvo kontsa X- nachala XII v.* (M., 1987), p. 268.

of the Church.

There is an addendum to Svyatoslav's relationship with Feodosy. We are told that the day after Svyatoslav visited the abbot he was riding his horse near the monastery and had a vision visible only to him. A pillar of fire hovered over the monk's abode which the prince interpreted as a sign foretelling Feodosy's death that day.²⁷⁴ With this entry the scribe wished to show his readers that the prince also enjoyed special favour with God.

Although Svyatoslav had a particularly intense relationship with the Caves Monastery during his reign in Kiev, his association with that and other monastic houses began at an earlier date. As we have seen, in 1069 he had helped Antony to escape to Chernigov. Even earlier, in the early 1060s, when Svyatoslav allegedly founded the Elets'kiy Monastery in Chernigov, a monk from the Caves Monastery travelled to Tmutarakan' to establish a monastery in Svyatoslav's southernmost territory.

We are told that Nikon "the Great" (*Velikiy*), a monk of the Caves Monastery, left it and travelled to the "island" of Tmutarakan'. Near the town he found a suitable spot to live in solitude. But soon, with the grace of God, he was joined by other monks and they built a church in honour of the Mother of God. As the community grew in size it became a monastery of great renown; the author of the account notes it still existed in his day.²⁷⁵

The information is minimal, but we may be able to expand on the anchorite's activities by drawing on other evidence. Nikon, who evidently became a hermit with Antony no later than 1058, fell into disfavour with Prince Izyaslav²⁷⁶ and, around 1061, left the Caves Monastery. We are not informed why he chose Tmutarakan' as his new home, but evidently he did so with the approval, if not the actual invitation, of Svyatoslav. It was around this time that the prince founded the Elets'kiy Monastery in Chernigov. Wishing to strengthen monasticism throughout his domains he may well have offered sanctuary to Nikon as he did some eight years later to Antony. But, it is impossible to know for certain.

Soon the monastery became renowned and, as Nikon's sobriquet "the

²⁷⁴ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 130. Cf. *Paterik Pecherskiy*, p. 74 which gives the date of Feodosy's death as 3 May 1074.

²⁷⁵ *Paterik Pecherskiy*, p. 36.

²⁷⁶ It has been suggested that Nikon was, in fact, Ilarion the first native metropolitan of Rus'; he became a monk in the Caves Monastery and adopted the name Nikon (*Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, p. 84).

Great" implies, he himself was a personage who commanded great respect. This is also suggested by the events which occurred in 1067 after the murder of Prince Rostislav. At that time, the inhabitants of Tmutarakan' selected Nikon to visit Svyatoslav in Chernigov to entreat him to send his son Gleb back as prince. Their choice was not surprising. It appears that Nikon was well versed in princely affairs since he was an avid chronicler of political events on the Taman' peninsula. From the years 1061 to 1073 all the information concerning Tmutarakan' preserved in the PVL was evidently recorded by him.²⁷⁷

We have also seen that he was an ardent advocate of princely brotherly love. Therefore, it was logical for the citizens to ask him to present their plea to Svyatoslav especially if they had been overly zealous in their support of Rostislav who had driven out Gleb. Their choice proved to be a good one. The prince of Chernigov listened to Nikon and sent his son back to Tmutarakan' as prince.

In 1068 the abbot evidently returned to the Caves Monastery. However, five years later when Svyatoslav seized Kiev, Nikon followed the example of Abbot Feodosy and objected to Svyatoslav's deposition of Iziaslav. In protest, it appears, he withdrew from the Caves Monastery a second time and went to Tmutarakan'. He returned to Kiev only after the death of Abbot Feodosy.²⁷⁸ But before he left Tmutarakan' he designated a new abbot since the author of the account states that the monastery still existed in his day.

There is evidence that at least one inmate of the Caves Monastery was appointed bishop of Tmutarakan'; he was a certain Nicholas (Nikola).²⁷⁹ Since Nikon was one of the founders of the Caves Monastery and a contemporary of Antony's, Nicholas presumably came to the monastery after him. Therefore, he became bishop of Tmutarakan' during Nikon's stay there or later, after Svyatoslav's death. We know neither the length of his term nor the identities of his predecessors or successors or if, indeed,

²⁷⁷ A number of investigators believe that Nikon compiled an early redaction (*svod*) of the PVL known as the "redaction of 1073" (Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.*, pp. 31-3; *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 57-9).

²⁷⁸ Nikon replaced Stephen as abbot and, in 1088, died in that post (Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoy tserkvi*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 588-9; *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 84-5; O. V. Tvorogov, "Nikon (Velikiy)," *Slovar' 1*, pp. 279-80).

²⁷⁹ *Paterik Pecherskyy*, pp. 102-3, 126.

there were any. Just the same, this morsel of information is significant for it reveals that in addition to Chernigov, Svyatoslav probably had a Slavic bishop in Tmutarakan'.²⁸⁰

Finally, let us turn to Svyatoslav's patronage of the cult of St. Gleb and, by association, of his brother St. Boris. He was devoted to the memory of his murdered uncles even before the late 1040s when his first son was born. Svyatoslav named his three eldest sons after the martyrs: first Gleb, then David and Roman (the latter two were the Christian names of Gleb and Boris). Svyatoslav's choice of names illustrates he adopted St. Gleb, the prince who ruled Murom before him, as the patron of his family. With his selection of names Svyatoslav also set the example for his descendants. According to onomastic evidence the princes of the various branches of Svyatoslavichi (the families of Chernigov and Murom-Ryazan') continued to use the names Gleb, David, and Roman with regular frequency up to 1239, the time of the Mongol invasion. Significantly, during those two centuries there is not one recorded instance of a Svyatoslavich named Boris.²⁸¹

The first public manifestation of Svyatoslav's devotion to St. Gleb is reported at the translation ceremony in 1072 in Vyshgorod. At that time, as we have seen, he touched his sore with the hand of St. Gleb in the hope of obtaining a miraculous cure. Later evidence demonstrates that even at an earlier date, while he was prince of Chernigov, Svyatoslav instilled into his sons a special love for the two *strastoterptsy*. Given the proximity of Vyshgorod to Chernigov as well as its convenient location on the route from Chernigov to Kiev, we may assume that he and his family visited the shrine whenever the opportunity presented itself.²⁸² After he usurped Kiev his association with the shrine increased. Whereas later tradition placed St. Boris ahead of his brother, in Svyatoslav's view the cult was that of SS. Gleb and Boris.²⁸³

Nevertheless, it could be argued that in his personal imitation of the virtue of brotherly love exemplified by SS. Boris and Gleb, Svyatoslav was found wanting. After Yaroslav's death he and his two eldest brothers

²⁸⁰ Evidently, Tmutarakan' had a Greek bishop in the eleventh century (see below, p. 168).

²⁸¹ Baum, IV, and his 2: XIV, XVI; Rapov, Table 5; cf. Zotov, p. 260.

²⁸² Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 352.

²⁸³ Aleshkovsky, "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," p. 114.

adhered faithfully enough to their father's "testament" in their relations with each other. However, they strayed from it when they appropriated the domains of their brothers Vladimir, Igor', and Vyacheslav. Later, in 1072, Svyatoslav joined his brothers in a splendid public exhibition of brotherly love in Vyshgorod. The three acted with one accord during the translation ceremony and then participated in a magnificent feast in the same spirit of fraternity. Nonetheless, for reasons which he believed to be more compelling than his father's command, Svyatoslav rebelled against his eldest brother. We are told that Abbot Feodosy took every opportunity to remind the prince of his sin and to entreat him to be reconciled with Izyaslav. However, Svyatoslav's conviction in the righteousness of his action was stronger than the abbot's admonitions.

Despite his personal transgression (and perhaps in partial atonement for it), Svyatoslav resolved to construct one of the most magnificent churches in Rus' in honour of the *strastoterpsy*. He probably pledged to build the edifice after St. Gleb bestowed the favour on him at the translation ceremony. It was erected up to the height of 80 *lokty*²⁸⁴ at the time of his death. To judge from the archaeological excavations made of its foundation, his intention was to construct an edifice that would surpass in size both the Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov on which it was modelled, and the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Kiev built by his father.²⁸⁵ With his magnificent shrine Svyatoslav wished to attract pilgrims from all parts of Rus' and therewith promote the cult of the princes of his own dynasty and the first native saints of Rus'.

His project was to be realized by his sons. His zeal evidently inspired them with a penchant for building churches and for propagating the cult in general. Svyatoslav himself, it has been suggested, was the first to promote the so-called "encolpia" or brass reliquary crosses depicting the two

²⁸⁴ A variant reading has 50 *lokty* (*Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 65). A *lokot* was a measurement of 38-46 cm in length (Kamentseva, E. I. and N. V. Ustyugov, *Russkaya metrologiya* [M., 1965], p. 26). If the church was 80 *lokty* in height it measured some 36.8 metres.

²⁸⁵ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 368. Although it is reasonable to assume that Svyatoslav would have built a church in honour of St. Gleb in M2urom, the saint's patrimony, there is no proof for this. The oldest churches in Murom were evidently built by Svyatoslav's sons (Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 357-8).

saints. These were in the main souvenir amulets treasured by pilgrims who turned to the thaumaturges with their petitions for cures or for protection against illness.²⁸⁶

Svyatoslav and his sons also introduced icons of St. Gleb. It is noteworthy, for example, that the sole surviving soapstone icon of St. Gleb-David was found on the Taman' peninsula. The image is associated with the rule of Svyatoslav's eldest son Gleb; the prince ruled Tmutarakan' during the 1060s, namely, while Svyatoslav was still prince of Chernigov. The absence of St. Boris on the icon is vivid testimony to the preference Svyatoslav's family showed for St. Gleb.²⁸⁷

From our examination of Svyatoslav's respect for the Church we may conclude that he was typical for the princes of his age. His relationship with it was founded on the statutes drawn up by his father and grandfather. He sought to consolidate the status of Christianity in his domains by eradicating all pagan elements and by patronizing monasticism. Wishing to enhance the prestige of the prelate in Chernigov he promoted the bishop to the status of titular metropolitan. By patronizing the cult of the first native martyrs he fortified popular religion and helped to create the identity of a national Church in Rus'. Finally, the prince of Chernigov was typical in that he vied with his brothers in building churches and monasteries in his patrimony as well as in Kiev.

L. SVYATOSLAV'S DEATH

Svyatoslav's reign which began on 22 March 1073 lasted for less than four years. He died on 27 December 1076 only forty nine years of age. The cause of death, according to the report, was an unsuccessful "operation on an abscess." Presumably, this was the same malady which afflicted him four years earlier at the time of the translation ceremony in Vyshgorod. His body was taken to Chernigov and interred in the Holy Saviour

²⁸⁶ Aleshkovsky, "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," p. 114.

²⁸⁷ Aleshkovsky, "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," p. 113; B. A. Rybakov, "Prikladnoe iskusstvo Kievskoy Rusi IX-XI vekov i yuzhnorusskikh knyazhestv XII-XIII vekov," *Istoriya russkogo iskusstva*, vol. I, eds. I. E. Grabar' et al. (M., 1953), p. 292, and his "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," p. 18.

Cathedral.²⁸⁸ The entry tells us almost nothing about the burial. However, the prince's body was probably placed in the customary manner on a sledge and taken to Chernigov. Metropolitan Neofit of Chernigov officiated at the service; it was attended by most of the dignitaries, clerical and ecclesiastical, from Chernigov and Kiev. We have no way of knowing who was present from his family. His German wife Oda and her son Yaroslav were certainly there. However, we do not know if Gleb, Oleg, and Roman came from their domains.

One of the few facts we are told is that Svyatoslav was buried in Holy Saviour Cathedral. This is noteworthy. After Mstislav who was buried in its foundation in 1034, he was the first prince to be interred inside the completed building. Since Svyatoslav finished erecting it, he undoubtedly prepared a burial vault for himself.²⁸⁹

It is stated nowhere who ordered the burial to take place in Chernigov. However, there can be no question that this was Svyatoslav's own directive.²⁹⁰ The town was his patrimony, besides, having ruled there for almost twenty years he developed a strong attachment to it. He was the prince of Chernigov and the Chernigovans first and foremost, even during the last four years when he ruled Kiev. However, Svyatoslav was motivated by more than just personal sentiments. His decision to be buried in the Holy Saviour Cathedral was extremely important for later generations of Svyatoslavichi; it confirmed Chernigov as "the town of their father" and the capital of their patrimony. During the turbulent decades that lay ahead, his sons could point to Svyatoslav's tomb as the incontestable proof of their inheritance.

²⁸⁸ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199.

²⁸⁹ In 1796, as the builders were repairing the choirs of the cathedral, a heavy beam fell, crashed through the floor, and made a hole in a stone vault located beneath it. Inside the vault were a number of caskets one of which was larger than the rest. It was made of white marble and resembled the sarcophagus of Yaroslav "the Wise" in St. Sofia. In it the men discovered a preserved body clothed in princely attire and girded with a sword (Firsov, "Gorod Chernigov i ego svyatyni," no. 10, p. 216). It is tempting to postulate that the marble sarcophagus contained the body of Svyatoslav, but we do not know.

²⁹⁰ Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 317; Passek, "Knyazheskaya i doknyazheskaya Rus'," p. 29; Tolochko, *Drevnyaya Rus'*, p. 91. Cf. Bagaley who claims this was the intention of Svyatoslav's Chernigov *druzhina* because he was unpopular with the Kievans (*Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 269).

Not surprisingly, the chronicler writes no panegyric for Svyatoslav.²⁹¹ Indeed, the only observation he makes is a derisory one. The year before his death Germans had come to Kiev and the prince allegedly showed them his immeasurable riches. The scribe, through words he placed into the Germans' mouths, criticized Svyatoslav for hoarding "dead" wealth rather than giving it to his retainers. He punctuated his remarks by stating that, ultimately, Svyatoslav's treasures were of no use to him because "after his death, all his wealth was dispersed."²⁹² Does the compiler's hostile attitude fairly represent his contemporaries' views of him?²⁹³

Nestor describes Svyatoslav as "the merciful" (*blagiy*) prince; elsewhere he is lauded as the "devout" (*blagovernyy*), "pious" (*blagochestivyy*), and "Christ-loving" (*Christolyubivyy*) Svyatoslav.²⁹⁴ That is, contemporary authors used the same adjectives of praise to describe him as they used to extol the virtues of his brothers. For example, Izyaslav is referred to as "Christ-loving" and "pious"; Vsevolod is called "faithful" and "God-loving."²⁹⁵ In the light of this evidence, the chronicler's anti-Svyatoslav bias appears somewhat anomalous.

Another, and unexpected source of evidence, also contradicts the attitude of the scribe. This is an incomplete graffito found on a wall in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. It states that "Svyatoslav ruled four years" and adds that a payment was made to St. Sophia in the month of March. The number 11 is given and, after a lacuna of two short lines, the word Sunday; the inscription ends with the words "in memory of this Svyatoslav.

²⁹¹ Both of his brothers received glowing encomiums; for Izyaslav see s.a. 1078, Ipat., cols. 193-5; Lav., cols. 201-4; for Vsevolod see s.a. 1093, Ipat., cols. 207-8; Lav., cols. 215-7.

²⁹² Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 86. The chronicler may be alluding to the action of Svyatoslav's widow Oda. A German annalist reported that she took her son Yaroslav, part of Svyatoslav's "countless wealth," and returned to her native Saxony where she married again. As for Yaroslav, he returned to Rus' later, at an undetermined date, to rule "in his father's place" (Bloch, "Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen des sächsischen Adels," pp. 188, 193-5).

²⁹³ See, for example, Rybakov who claims that it did (*Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 444).

²⁹⁴ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 125; *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 8, 69, 71; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 86.

²⁹⁵ For Izyaslav see *Paterik Pecherskiy*, pp. 18, 42-4; for Vsevolod see Lav., col. 216.

Amen.²⁹⁶

The inscription evidently records a commemoration service held in memory of the deceased prince. Who requested and paid for it is not revealed. However, if the payment was made in the first March (i.e., 1077) following Svyatoslav's death the prince of Kiev, as we shall see, was Vsevolod. Since he was on friendly terms with the Svyatoslavichi at that time, he himself may have commissioned the service or else allowed one of Svyatoslav's sons to do so. If the date in question was Sunday 11 March, as the inscription appears to suggest, then the service was held in 1078 when the prince of Kiev was Izyaslav. He, however, was antagonistic towards the Svyatoslavichi. Just the same, to judge from the graffito, he permitted a public commemoration to be held in his cathedral for the man who drove him out of Kiev. Izyaslav's respect for the memory of his erstwhile enemy clashes dramatically with the chroniclers' criticisms of Svyatoslav.²⁹⁷

Finally, it is not irrelevant to report a tradition which survived until the nineteenth century. According to one informed source, Svyatoslav was venerated, albeit perhaps only locally, as a saint.²⁹⁸ Local traditions, often not verifiable, generally evolve from some element of fact. In this instance, the implied fact redounds to Svyatoslav's good name.

* * *

To summarize, we have seen that, before his death, Yaroslav "the Wise" bequeathed a domain to each of his sons; every son, in turn, was expected to divide up his patrimony among his heirs. To ensure that this arrangement would be followed, Yaroslav instructed his eldest son Izyaslav, as prince of Kiev, to enforce the territorial allocations. Kiev was the exception. It became no prince's personal domain but remained the possession

²⁹⁶ S. A. Vysotsky, "Graffito XI v. v Sofii Kievskoy," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya*, 1 (1959), pp. 273-5, and his *Davn'orus'ki napysy Sofii Kyivs'koi XI-XIV st., Dopovidi radyans'koi delegatsii na VI Mizhnarodnii z'ezd slavistiv* (Praga, serpen' 1968 r.), (K., 1968), pp. 10-1; see also Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," p. 18.

²⁹⁷ *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI-XIV vv.*, p. 45.

²⁹⁸ Arkhimandrit Leonid, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 32.

of Yaroslav himself, as it were, the designated ruler of Kiev merely administered it in Yaroslav's name.

Since Kiev was not the private possession of any one prince, succession to it was arranged differently. Yaroslav designated his eldest son Izyaslav as his immediate successor. In addition, Izyaslav's two younger brothers, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, had the right to rule it after Izyaslav's death. Accordingly, succession to Kiev was conferred on the families of the three eldest Yaroslavichi, the "inner circle," whose members would occupy it according to a lateral system of rotation based on genealogical precedence. In order to ensure that the prince of Kiev, no matter from what family, was the most powerful in the land, he would rule Kiev in addition to his patrimonial domain.

An additional principle of succession was operative at all times. Each prince had the right to sit on the throne of his father. If a father failed to rule a particular domain, his son had no right to rule it. The son became an *izgoi*. Thus, if one of the three Yaroslavichi failed to rule Kiev, all his sons became debarred from ruling the capital of Rus'.

These were the principles of succession which Yaroslav, it appears, handed down to his sons, notably, to the members of the so-called triumvirate: Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod. Nevertheless, it was not long before they violated his territorial allocations by appropriating the domains of their brothers Vladimir, Vyacheslav, and Igor'. They incorporated Novgorod, Smolensk, and Vladimir into the common patrimony of Kiev and distributed the towns amongst themselves. They therewith denied the sons of Vladimir, Vyacheslav, and Igor' the right of succession to the thrones of their fathers. In this way they set the precedent for future violations.

Svyatoslav, the second eldest Yaroslavich, inherited Chernigov along with Murom and Tmutarakan'. Of the three brothers he was the most able. He demonstrated this by inflicting a resounding defeat on the Polovtsy at the time when Izyaslav, the prince of Kiev, fled from them to the Poles. Svyatoslav's victory enabled him to establish alliances with the tribesmen which served as the basis for the future friendly relations which grew up between his descendants and the Polovtsy.

After Izyaslav fled to the Poles in 1068 Svyatoslav and Vsevolod made no attempt to seize Kiev. However, Svyatoslav did take advantage of his brother's absence by asserting his control over Novgorod; he sent his eldest son Gleb to rule it. This was an important development because it was the first occasion on which the prince of Novgorod was appointed

by, and consequently owed allegiance to, someone other than the prince of Kiev. In this way the prince of Chernigov obtained a foothold in Novgorod.

In 1073 Svyatoslav deposed Izyaslav. This was the first occasion since Yaroslav himself seized Kiev that it was taken by force. Svyatoslav evidently occupied the capital because he was upset with Izyaslav for his injustices and also because he wanted more power. Another reason, but one not suggested until now, was the prince's failing health. Svyatoslav believed he might predecease his elder brother. If this was so, he would never occupy Kiev according to the natural order of succession. To prevent his sons from becoming debarred, therefore, he usurped power.

In dealing with the questions of succession and patrimonies as outlined by Yaroslav's "testament," Svyatoslav demonstrated more calculating realism than fraternal love. He showed that a situation may arise when, for the good of the family and even of Rus', it might be necessary to violate Yaroslav's precepts. Indeed, by doing so a prince was following custom; the practice of usurpation had been "hallowed" by no lesser personages than his father Yaroslav "the Wise," and his grandfather Vladimir who Christianized Rus'. Of the three Yaroslavichi, Svyatoslav most resembled his wise, pious, and, at times ruthless predecessors.

After Yaroslav's death, Svyatoslav proved to be the most powerful ruler in Rus'. No later prince of Kiev would rival him in authority except, perhaps, Vladimir Monomakh. Whereas Izyaslav had, to a large extent, relied on the support of his two brothers to implement his policies, Svyatoslav ruled as an autocrat while retaining Vsevolod's friendship. His independence is not surprising since, as prince of Kiev, he controlled more territories than Izyaslav had ever ruled at any one time, namely: the common patrimony of Kiev, his own patrimony of Chernigov (including Tmutarakan' and Murom), Novgorod, the Beloozero region, and he had ultimate jurisdiction over the appropriated domains of Turov, Vladimir, and Smolensk.

Svyatoslav secured for his descendants their territorial and political rights. The patrimony of Chernigov he inherited from his father would form the basis for the territorial claims of his descendants. The policies he adopted concerning towns such as Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir, and Polotsk were to become their guidelines. For example, his occupation of Kiev gave them the right to rule the common patrimony of the Yaroslavichi; his successful appointment of Gleb to Novgorod set a precedent for his family

in that town. Svyatoslav's dealings with other princely families established the precedents for his descendants' policies towards them, namely: friendship with Vsevolod's family, animosity towards the Izyaslavichi, amicable ties with the rulers of Polotsk and the families of *izgoi* princes.

As prince of Kiev, and even earlier, Svyatoslav expressed a deep devotion to St. Gleb, the martyred prince who ruled Murom before him. Svyatoslav demonstrated his love for the saint most dramatically in 1072 at the translation ceremony, and, later, when he founded a stone church in honour of the two *strastoterptsy* in Vyshgorod. Most important for the cult was the fact that Svyatoslav successfully instilled into his sons the love of the martyred princes. As a result, future generations of Svyatoslavi-chi continued to venerate the two saints.

Svyatoslav was also an avid patron of the Church and of learning. He founded the first monastery in Chernigov and established the Monastery of St. Simeon in Kiev. He probably completed building the Holy Saviour Cathedral therewith enhancing the prestige of the bishop of Chernigov who, for a time, also enjoyed the status of a titular metropolitan. Svyatoslav patronized culture by commissioning religious books. In all this, the founder of the House of Chernigov set the example for his descendants.

Before his death Svyatoslav allocated towns to his sons, but, he avoided dividing up his patrimonial domain of Chernigov. To Gleb he bequeathed Novgorod in the hope that it would become his patrimony. To his second eldest son, Oleg, he gave Chernigov. Roman got Tmutarakan', and David probably got Murom. Yaroslav, who was still a minor at the time of Svyatoslav's death, evidently received no town. With these allocations, Svyatoslav hoped to strengthen the power of his family on the national level while preserving the heart of his own patrimony, the Chernigov lands, intact.

The Second Generation

A. THE SVYATOSLAVICHI LOSE CHERNIGOV

On 1 January 1077, five days after the death of Svyatoslav, prince of Kiev, his younger brother Vsevolod succeeded him.¹ This, his first reign, was short. All the same, it is important for our investigation because Vsevolod's policy towards his nephews, the Svyatoslavichi, reflects the pact he made with their father Svyatoslav. Since Vsevolod was now the genealogically eldest Yaroslavich in Rus', he succeeded Svyatoslav to the common patrimony of Kiev and assumed jurisdiction over all the territories the triumvirate (Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, Vsevolod) had confiscated from the other princes.

The sources do not tell us what domains Vsevolod gave to his two sons Vladimir Monomakh and Rostislav or to the four Svyatoslavichi—Gleb, Oleg, David, Roman. Since the two families remained on amicable terms,² it is safe to assume that Vsevolod's allocations were based on the ones he and Svyatoslav had agreed upon when the latter was prince of Kiev. Accordingly, Vsevolod kept his own patrimony of Pereyaslavl', Izyaslav's Turov, Smolensk, the district of Rostov and, perhaps, a number of towns in the region of Vladimir.

The Svyatoslavichi, aside from their loss of Kiev, evidently remained in the towns they controlled before their father died: Gleb retained Novgorod; Oleg stayed in Vladimir; Roman ruled Tmutarakan'; and David was probably in Murom. The youngest, Yaroslav, as we have seen, was taken by his mother to Saxony after Svyatoslav's death.³

Vsevolod honoured his pact with Svyatoslav concerning territorial allocations. The agreement undoubtedly also stipulated that the eldest Svyatoslavich would succeed Vsevolod to Kiev after his death. However,

¹ Ipat., col. 189; Lav., col. 199.

² This is suggested by the lack of any chronicle reference to a conflict between the Svyatoslavichi and their uncle after Vsevolod's accession. As we have seen, Monomakh enjoyed close friendships with Svyatoslav's sons Gleb and Oleg.

³ See above, p. 93-4.

in order for their plan to work, it was necessary for Vsevolod to keep his eldest brother Izyaslav, whom he and Svyatoslav had expelled from Kiev, from returning to Rus'. If Izyaslav regained control of the capital he would redistribute the domains in favour of his own family. Since Svyatoslav had seized Izyaslav's domains after expelling him from Rus', the Svyatoslavichi could expect similar treatment should Izyaslav be reinstated in Kiev.

Unfortunately for the Svyatoslavichi, Izyaslav's peregrinations in search of aid bore fruit after Svyatoslav's death. His return to Rus' seemed simple enough, but the account describing it is unclear. Most copies of the PVL state that in 1077, after Izyaslav set out for Kiev with the Poles, Vsevolod went out to meet him. In the middle of the account, the chronicler interjects an enigmatic statement. He states that on 4 May, while Vsevolod was away, Boris, the son of Vsevolod's youngest brother Vyacheslav who is mentioned here for the first time, occupied Chernigov. Boris ruled it for eight days and then fled to his cousin, the Svyatoslavich Roman, in Tmutarakan'. Meanwhile, Vsevolod met his brother Izyaslav in the region of Volynia, made peace, and on 15 July Izyaslav returned to Kiev. The chronicler concludes his account with a second puzzling remark; he states that Oleg Svyatoslavich "was with Vsevolod" in Chernigov.⁴

This short account presents a number of difficulties. For example, who ruled Chernigov from 1 January 1077 when Vsevolod occupied Kiev until 15 July when Izyaslav returned to it and Vsevolod became prince of Chernigov? Vsevolod had two options: he could either turn Chernigov over to Svyatoslav's designated successor, or, he himself could assume control of it and, like Svyatoslav, administer it from Kiev.

The best clue to his action is given by a number of the sources which report the exact number of years Vsevolod lived in specific towns. Two copies of the PVL categorically state that Vsevolod ruled in Chernigov for only one year.⁵ As we shall see, he was prince of the town on 28 August

⁴ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199; cf. Tver., XV, col. 173. For Boris's patronymic see Gust., p. 274.

⁵ Ipat., col. 208; Lav., col. 217. A late seventeenth-century chronicle (Gust., p. 278) gives even more precise information. After reporting Vsevolod's death (1093) it records that he reigned 38 years in all: 22 years in Pereyaslavl' (i.e., from the time of Yaroslav's death until 1 January 1077), "one year in Chernigov," and 15 years in Kiev (i.e., from the time of Izyaslav's death in 1078 until his own death in 1093). The tally is correct.

1078 when he was evicted by Oleg and Boris Vyacheslavich. Calculating backwards from that date by one year, he occupied Chernigov in the summer of 1077. Since Izyaslav was reinstated as prince of Kiev on 15 July 1077, Vsevolod must have become prince of Chernigov—for the first and only time—on that date.

Who, then, was prince of Chernigov from January 1077 until Vsevolod occupied it in July? According to genealogical seniority among the Svyatoslavichi, Gleb of Novgorod should have been designated to rule his father's town. However, we are told that he remained in the north until his death in the following year. Oleg was next on the ladder of succession. Significantly, he became involved in the affairs of Chernigov almost immediately following his father's death.

The sources give patchy information concerning Oleg's activities following Svyatoslav's death. We know that the latter had appointed him to Vladimir. However, according to the account reporting Vsevolod's pact with Izyaslav, after the latter returned to Kiev Oleg "was with Vsevolod" in Chernigov. The phrase is unclear, but as the chronicler considered it noteworthy to mention Oleg's presence in the town, his political situation evidently changed after Izyaslav occupied Kiev. It appears that Oleg resided in Chernigov but Vsevolod ruled it. Either he had been prince of Chernigov but after Vsevolod occupied it was forced to remain there without authority, or he was transferred to Chernigov from his former domain which is not identified. The latter was more likely the case.

This development, at any rate, is suggested by Monomakh. In the "Instruction" he reports that Oleg came from Vladimir (to Chernigov is implied) after being evicted from it. Then Monomakh invited Oleg and his father Vsevolod to dine with him in his residence at the "Beautiful Court" (*Krasnyy dvor*) in Chernigov.⁶

Let us reconstruct Oleg's fate as best we can in the light of the

⁶ Lav., col. 247. Such courts were commonly located outside the town and called "Beautiful" (*Krasnyy*) because they were handsome in design and located in pleasant surroundings (*Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 424, 442; Mezentsev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, p. 74). In Chernigov such a court may have been built near the Church of St. Elias under the Boldiniy Hills, or closer towards the river Desna where, on a sandy outcropping surrounded by water channels, the Sacred Grove was located (see p. 15). Cf. Vsevolod's "Beautiful Court" at Vydubichi (I. I. Movchan, *Drevnie Vydubichi* [K., 1982], pp. 13-5).

available information. The only time that Izyaslav was in a position to evict Oleg from Vladimir, the domain his father had given him, was between the months of May and July in 1077 when he and the Poles invaded Oleg's lands. After Vsevolod relinquished control of Kiev in exchange for Chernigov, Izyaslav evidently demanded that Oleg evacuate Vladimir as well. Since Oleg accompanied Vsevolod to Chernigov it appears that the latter may have interceded on his nephew's behalf, but we are not told. In any case, it is noteworthy that Izyaslav entrusted Oleg into Vsevolod's custody rather than imprisoning him in Kiev as he had imprisoned Vseslav some nine years earlier. His lenient treatment of Oleg suggests that he was not holding Svyatoslav's sons accountable for their father's usurpation of Kiev.

A seventeenth-century source, although of lesser reliability owing to its late provenance, has additional information which corroborates the above observations. It states:

Oleg Svyatoslavich was with Vsevolod, when Vsevolod went against Izyaslav in Volynia. At that time, Boris Vyacheslavich, the grandson of Yaroslav, occupied the principality of Chernigov as Oleg's agent (*pod Olgom*) and he ruled for eight days. When he learnt that Vsevolod was returning from Volynia, he fled to Tmutarakan'.⁷

We are told that Oleg was with Vsevolod when the latter confronted Izyaslav in Volynia. This does not contradict our observation. It implies that after Vsevolod was informed of Izyaslav's intention to invade Rus' he rode to Vladimir, joined forces with Oleg, and together they set out against Izyaslav. Whether or not it was the outcome of a battle or of negotiations, the result was unfavourable for the two allies. Vsevolod and Oleg both lost their domains.

The account also has a unique item of information. It states that Boris Vyacheslavich occupied Chernigov "as Oleg's agent" (*pod Olgom*). If Boris seized control of Chernigov on behalf of Oleg, as seems likely, then this is the only evidence we have that Oleg was dissatisfied with Vsevolod. Namely, he was displeased with his uncle's refusal to let him occupy Chernigov. If Oleg believed he had a legitimate claim to rule the town

⁷ Gust, p. 274.

then we may assume he was Svyatoslav's designated successor to Chernigov.

A closer examination of the circumstances surrounding Boris's intervention in Chernigov reveals that he indeed was acting as Oleg's ally. We have no knowledge of his domain or of his military resources.⁸ Since he was an *izgoi* he had a small military force. Therefore, it is unlikely that he was able to take by storm the second largest town in southern Rus'. Rather, it is reasonable to assume that the townsmen opened the gates to him as a friend. What is more, on learning that Vsevolod was returning from Volynia, Boris fled to Oleg's younger brother Roman in Tmutarakan'. Surely, had he attempted to seize the patrimony of the Svyatoslavichi for himself, he would not have sought sanctuary with one of them. We can conclude, therefore, that he was acting on their behalf. His co-operation with the Svyatoslavichi in the future confirms this view. Consequently, we may conclude that Oleg was the designated prince of Chernigov but Vsevolod refused to give him the town.

According to the chronicler's closing remark under the year 1077 Oleg "was with Vsevolod" in Chernigov. Oleg was evidently being held against his will because he soon fled to Tmutarakan'. Since the scribe draws the reader's attention to Oleg's situation, it was apparently extraordinary. That is, he was the only Svyatoslavich whom Izyaslav evicted from his domain. Oleg fell victim to the reshuffle prompted by Izyaslav's return to Kiev. The latter expelled him from Vladimir in order to reclaim it for his son. Just the same, the uncle was in no hurry to compensate Oleg for his loss. On the contrary, it was to Izyaslav's advantage to reduce the territorial holdings of the Svyatoslavichi in order to increase his own.

Since Oleg was the rightful prince of Chernigov he was so designated by Svyatoslav. Indeed, there is a parallel between the careers of father and son. Svyatoslav himself ruled Vladimir during his father's lifetime and inherited Chernigov only after his death. However, why did Svyatoslav appoint his second eldest son rather than the eldest to the patrimonial capital? Why did he ignore the practice of his father Yaroslav and grandfather Vladimir who had designated their eldest sons to succeed them?

⁸ A number of historians claim Svyatoslav gave Vyshgorod to Boris and thereby appeased him for his loss of Smolensk (Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," p. 4; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 82; Rychka, *Formirovanie territorii Kievskoy zemli*, p. 84). There is no chronicle evidence for this assertion.

The most important domain Svyatoslav controlled as prince of Chernigov was Chernigov itself. Therefore, it is fair to ask if he planned to give Gleb, who because of his seniority was entitled to a better patrimony than Oleg, a town from outside the Chernigov domain. Did Svyatoslav intend his eldest son to keep Novgorod which he had appropriated from the jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev? If this was the case, then it made good sense for Svyatoslav to give Chernigov, which he evidently considered to be of lesser importance than Novgorod, to his second eldest son Oleg. Accordingly, David would get Murom and Roman would keep Tmutarakan'. We are not told what provision Svyatoslav made for Yaroslav who was still a minor.

If, as appears to have been the case, Svyatoslav wished to incorporate Novgorod into his patrimony, then the scribe's assertion that the prince seized Kiev because he wanted more *vlast'* takes on an added dimension. Strictly speaking, Svyatoslav did not violate Yaroslav's patrimonial allocations by giving Novgorod to his son because Izyaslav had previously confiscated the domain from Rostislav. Moreover, Svyatoslav appropriated the town not because he was following a premeditated plan of expansion but because the chance presented itself. In 1068 when Izyaslav fled from Kiev the first time, Svyatoslav was faced with the choice of either appropriating Novgorod for himself or allowing it to fall into the hands of Vseslav of Polotsk; he chose the first course of action. After Izyaslav fled from Kiev the second time and Svyatoslav himself occupied the town, his eldest son was already ensconced in Novgorod. Again Svyatoslav wished to make the most of an excellent opportunity; presumably with the consent of the Novgorodians he intended to leave Gleb in Novgorod permanently. His plan might have succeeded had Vsevolod been able to prevent Izyaslav from returning to Rus'.

Unfortunately for the princes of Chernigov, Vsevolod preferred to compromise and follow the lead of others. Even though he had the resources of all Rus' at his disposal, in May of 1077 he ceded control of Kiev to his elder brother but only after negotiating a favourable deal for himself at the expense of the Svyatoslavichi.

One of Izyaslav's first tasks was to reclaim from Vsevolod and the Svyatoslavichi those territories which Svyatoslav had taken from him, notably, his own patrimony of Turov and Vladimir. He encountered no difficulty in regaining Turov from Vsevolod. Since Oleg had little chance of successfully defending Vladimir against both uncles without assistance

from his brothers who were in distant domains, he capitulated.

Izyaslav redistributed the domains according to the formula Svyatoslav himself used after he occupied Kiev. Just as Svyatoslav had seized Izyaslav's patrimony of Turov and given it to Vsevolod, similarly, in 1077 Izyaslav confiscated Svyatoslav's patrimony of Chernigov and gave it to Vsevolod. However, the Chernigov domain Vsevolod appropriated was much reduced in size to the one Svyatoslav originally inherited from Yaroslav. It no longer included the territories of Tmutarakan' and Murom. Instead, its outer limits had shrunk to the region of Kursk in the southeast and the lands of the Vyatichi in the northeast.⁹

Interestingly enough, Izyaslav gave his eldest son Yaropolk, who had formerly ruled Polotsk, the Kievan outpost of Vyshgorod.¹⁰ This appointment reflected the new political condition. Izyaslav probably wanted to have his heir-apparent close at hand should his rule in Kiev be challenged again. Indeed, as has been noted, there is numismatic evidence to suggest that Yaropolk assumed the role of co-ruler with his father.¹¹ His presence in Vyshgorod also served to deter any pro-Svyatoslavichi faction from fomenting opposition. Undoubtedly, there was strong support for Svyatoslav's sons in Vyshgorod because he had begun to build for them a stone church in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb. Izyaslav terminated the project.

⁹ Investigators are not agreed whether Yaroslav bequeathed Kursk to Svyatoslav or Vsevolod. Relying on the authority of Monomakh's "Instruction" many argue wrongly that it originally belonged to Vsevolod. Monomakh says: "for the first time I went to Rostov through the Vyatichi [because] my father sent me, and he himself went to Kursk" (Lav., col. 247). In their opinion, Monomakh fled to Rostov for safety in 1068 during the insurrection in Kiev. Since they believe Vsevolod went to Kursk in the same year they claim it was part of the Pereyaslavl' principality (Kuchkin, *Formirovaniye gosudarstvennoy territorii*, p. 61; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 90). However, it must be pointed out that Monomakh did not flee but was sent by his father (*posla mya otets*), evidently on business. Moreover, the date is incorrect. Monomakh could travel freely through the Vyatichi lands only if Vsevolod controlled them; this happened in the summer of 1077 after Izyaslav gave him Chernigov. Therefore, Monomakh and his father probably made their trips between that time and October 1078 when Vsevolod became prince of Kiev. Since Vsevolod also acquired Kursk as part of the Chernigov domain in 1077, the purpose of his trip most likely was to establish his rule over Kursk (see above, pp. 53-6).

¹⁰ Ipat., col. 191, Lav., col. 200.

¹¹ See above, pp. 84-5.

There is an additional reason why Izyaslav appointed his eldest son to rule the Kievan outpost. Before Svyatoslav deposed Izyaslav, Yaropolk had been prince of Polotsk; as prince of Kiev, Svyatoslav reinstated Vseslav in that domain. Indeed Izyaslav may have viewed Yaropolk's appointment to Vyshgorod as a temporary measure only until he expelled Svyatoslav's former ally from Polotsk and gave it back to Yaropolk.¹² We are not told what town Izyaslav gave to his younger son Svyatopolk. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he occupied Vladimir as soon as it was vacated by Oleg.

Vsevolod got Chernigov in addition to his patrimony of Pereyaslavl' and the Rostov region in the northeast. His son Vladimir Monomakh retained Smolensk which, to judge from the "Instruction," he had administered during Izyaslav's reign before Svyatoslav's usurpation.¹³ Vsevolod's younger son Rostislav was only seven years of age at that time. He was either with his father in Chernigov or made a titular prince of a town like Pereyaslavl' and placed under the supervision of a *posadnik*.

The Svyatoslavichi were the only princes who suffered serious territorial losses after their father's death. Over the course of some five months they lost Kiev, Chernigov, and Vladimir; their fortunes plummeted. From the position of supremacy which they enjoyed during Svyatoslav's reign they were relegated to the place of least importance within the "inner circle." Nevertheless, they were not politically impotent. They still controlled three principalities, Novgorod, Tmutorokan', and Murom and their combined military resources could still pose a serious threat to Izyaslav.

Izyaslav treated them, initially at any rate, with caution. If he had any desire to expel Svyatoslav's sons from Rus' in retaliation for his own exile, he demonstrated no such inclination. After evicting Oleg from Vladimir which, Izyaslav could argue, was rightfully his, he seized no other towns. In this way he avoided giving Gleb and the other Svyatoslavichi reasons for discontent.

¹² Monomakh reports that Izyaslav tried to drive out Vseslav from Polotsk. In his "Instruction" he writes that he went on two campaigns against Polotsk in the course of one year (evidently, 1077); the first time was with his father Vsevolod, and the second with his cousin Svyatopolk (Lav., col. 247). Both campaigns must have been authorized by Izyaslav. Significantly, he refused to allow his son Yaropolk to leave Vyshgorod to join either of them.

¹³ Lav., cols. 247-8.

Oleg's case was unique. He had every reason to be hostile to both uncles. It must be explained that even though Izyaslav evicted Oleg from Vladimir, Oleg could not, in fairness, blame his uncle for wrongdoing. As prince of Kiev, Izyaslav had the right to appoint anyone he chose to the town. The appointment was negotiable. Therefore, Oleg's first accusation was levied against Vsevolod. The latter capitulated to Izyaslav and renounced his pact with the deceased Svyatoslav. Once Izyaslav returned to Kiev the original order of succession was re-established so that the eldest Svyatoslavich was no longer next in line to occupy Kiev.

Oleg condemned both uncles for rejecting his right of succession to Chernigov. Vsevolod had prevented Oleg from occupying the town while he was prince of Kiev. After Izyaslav returned he followed suit. What is more, Vsevolod accepted the town from Izyaslav as his reward for betraying the Svyatoslavichi. To add insult to injury, Oleg was required to live in his own inheritance without authority, evidently, as Vsevolod's "guest" under some form of house arrest.¹⁴

Oleg's position in Chernigov was analogous to that of Rostislav before 1064 in Novgorod. Denied the right to rule his own patrimony, the prince was evidently kept there under duress. We have no way of knowing how long Izyaslav intended to detain Oleg in political limbo. In any case, Oleg took matters into his own hands. Through the winter of 1077-78 he remained a docile captive; then, following the examples of his cousins Rostislav of Novgorod and Boris Vyacheslavich, on 10 April he fled to Tmutarakan'.¹⁵

It is curious to note that Oleg fled to his younger brother Roman rather than to Gleb, the eldest and most powerful prince of the family. Perhaps, Gleb denied his brother sanctuary because he was afraid of antagonizing Izyaslav and providing him with an excuse for attacking Novgo-

¹⁴ To judge from Monomakh's report that he invited Oleg to dine with him and his father at the "Beautiful Court" (Lav., col. 247), Oleg was not confined to quarters. It has been suggested that the occasion for the meal was Easter, 8 April 1078, and that Monomakh attempted to reconcile Oleg with Vsevolod (I. M. Ivakin, *Knyaz' Vladimir Monomakh i ego pouchenie*, chast' pervaya, "Pouchenie detyam, Pis'mo k Olegu i otryvki" [M., 1901], p. 159; *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, p. 442; Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," p. 92). Since Oleg fled to Tmutarakan' two days later, Monomakh's intervention failed.

¹⁵ Ipat., col. 190; Lav., col. 199.

rod. Whatever the reason for Oleg's choice, his action was provocative. His flight is the first recorded instance of Svyatoslavichi opposition to Izyaslav's and Vsevolod's duumvirate.

The following month the Svyatoslavichi suffered a loss which further undermined their already weakened position. On 30 May, Gleb was killed at Zavoloch'e, a district on the eastern frontiers of the Novgorod lands. The author of the account does not explain the cause of death, but he does write a short encomium. He explains that "Gleb was kind to the poor, hospitable to strangers, zealous [in supporting] churches, pious and meek. He was handsome in appearance." The prince's body was brought to Chernigov and, on 23 July, buried beside the Holy Saviour Cathedral. After that, the author concludes, Izyaslav sent his son Svyatopolk to rule Novgorod, Yaropolk remained in Vyshgorod, and Monomakh controlled Smolensk.¹⁶

Gleb's death decreased the number of Svyatoslavichi at a time when their power was in large part proportionate to the number of active members they could produce against their uncles' families. Although Gleb was survived by four younger brothers, only two of them were politically effective: Oleg who became the new senior prince of the family but had no domain, and Roman. David has yet to be mentioned by the sources and Yaroslav was still a minor at his mother's side in Saxony. Their opposition was made up of Izyaslav's and Vsevolod's families: the one had two sons and the other, in effect, had only Monomakh because the younger, Rostislav, was also a minor. This meant that the Izyaslavichi and the Vsevolodovichi now had a significantly greater advantage in the number of princes who could field *druzhiny* against the Svyatoslavichi as well as in the number of princes who could be appointed to domains. Izyaslav put the advantage to good use immediately.

Svyatoslav probably designated Novgorod as Gleb's patrimony, but, to judge from the silence of the sources, Gleb had no heirs. After his death the town once again fell under the jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev. With that, the Svyatoslavichi lost the "trump card" which had made them a viable political force within the "inner circle" even after Chernigov and Vladimir were taken from them. Nevertheless, this need not have been the

¹⁶ Ipat., cols. 190-1; Lav. cols. 199-200; cf. NPL, p. 201 which gives the date, but misplaces the event under the year 1079; see Zotov, p. 257.

case. If Izyaslav had had any desire whatsoever of maintaining the status quo and of placating Oleg, he could have done so after Gleb's death by giving Novgorod to Oleg. This was not the case. He had every intention of getting his own hands on Novgorod as soon as the Svyatoslavichi lost it. On being informed of Gleb's death he quickly sent his son Svyatopolk to occupy Novgorod lest Oleg made a bid for it before him.

Izyaslav's eagerness to assert his control over Novgorod raises an important question. Was he implicated in his nephew's killing? Gleb's death was another suspiciously convenient elimination of a prince who had a domain desired by the prince of Kiev. His case is reminiscent of the deaths of Igor' and Vyacheslav in Smolensk and later that of Gleb's brother Roman of Tmutarakan'.¹⁷

Although the chronicle account of Gleb's death fails to describe the circumstances surrounding it the NPL inadvertently gives additional information. It contains a list of Novgorod princes with the following statement: "Svyatoslav appointed his son Gleb [to Novgorod]; [the Novgorodians] drove him out and he fled beyond Volok where the Chud' killed him."¹⁸ This information gives us two new details: Gleb was driven out of Novgorod and he was killed by the Chud', a local tribe. Evidently he was fleeing from the Novgorod land, but we are not told to what location. Since Chernigov was controlled by the hostile Vsevolod the patrimonial domain of Murom may have been his objective.

There is no direct evidence which attests to Izyaslav's complicity in Gleb's death, but there is indirect albeit inconclusive information. It is interesting to note that Gleb was murdered by a tribe living on the frontier region near Smolensk and Rostov, territories which were controlled by Izyaslav and Vsevolod. Were Gleb's attackers acting on orders from one of the two brothers? The association is a logical one to make.

Moreover, Gleb's death could not have happened at a more opportune time for Izyaslav. It occurred after he was reconciled with his brother

¹⁷ Assassinations were common enough occurrences. Rostislav had been poisoned by the Greeks in Tmutarakan' and, later, Izyaslav's eldest son Yaropolk was murdered by an assassin, evidently, at the command of Rostislav's eldest son Ryurik (s.a. 1087, Ipat., cols. 197-8).

¹⁸ NPL, p. 470. Cf. Solov'ev who claims Gleb was driven out of Novgorod by Izyaslav ("Ob otnosheniya k velikim knyaz'yam," *Chteniya*, no. 1 [M., 1846], p. 108; see also Zakharenko, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v Novgorode," p. 150).

Vsevolod, and after he eliminated Oleg as a political threat. Having thereby removed any serious danger of attack from potentially hostile princes, he was free to embark on a policy of territorial expansion. The most incriminating piece of evidence that he may have done this is the news that the Novgorodians rebelled against Gleb. This happened after the prince had been ruling peacefully for almost ten years.¹⁹ There had evidently been no unrest in Novgorod during Svyatoslav's reign in Kiev. However, opposition to Gleb surfaced less than a year after Izyaslav returned to Rus'. Indeed, Gleb's flight is not unlike Rostislav's in 1064 at which time Izyaslav appointed his son Mstislav to Novgorod. This evidence compels us to point an accusing finger at Izyaslav.

There is more mystery associated with Gleb's death. A non-chronicle source records an episode which has a touch of intrigue. We are told that a certain monk of the Caves Monastery named Nikita who had the gift of second-sight sent a message to Izyaslav announcing Gleb's death. He did this on the very day the prince was killed. Nikita also advised Izyaslav to send his son Svyatopolk immediately to Novgorod. After a few days the prince received word of Gleb's death just as Nikita reported it.²⁰

The incident is curious not so much because the monk allegedly knew of the prince's death on the very day it occurred, but because of the subject of his "prophecy." It is somewhat irregular that an event which had great political importance for Izyaslav be reported in the context of religious anecdotes. Even more puzzling is the information that Nikita gave Izyaslav political advice, namely, to send his son quickly to Novgorod.

Nikita's "vision" is not so much a religious experience as, it would appear, complicity in an unsavoury plot. Why did he presume to advise the prince, and wherein lay the urgency? Was Izyaslav expecting special information from the monk because they had advanced knowledge of Gleb's fate? Did Nikita maintain secret contacts with Novgorod which gave him privileged information? He may well have had special ties with its citizens to judge from the information that, at a later date, he became

¹⁹ The only disquiet in Novgorod was reported under the year 1071 when a sorcerer stirred up the people and plotted to kill the bishop. Instead, Gleb killed the pagan. It is possible that the prince was killed a number of years later by vengeful followers of the *volkhv*.

²⁰ *Paterik Pecherskyi*, p. 126.

the bishop of Novgorod.²¹ Moreover, Nikita was apparently well apprised of Izyaslav's plans for Novgorod, that is, that he intended to send his son Svyatopolk rather than the elder Yaropolk to rule it. Seizing control of Novgorod and sending one of his sons to rule it was a major political goal for Izyaslav, and evidently, one which he may have discussed openly. The question is, did he do anything foul to expedite it? Our evidence, meagre as it is, suggests he did.

Finally, let us note that almost two months after Gleb's death his body was brought to Chernigov for burial. Gleb was killed in the frontier lands of Novgorod far away from the town. From considerations of distance, therefore, it would have made little difference whether his body was taken to Novgorod or Chernigov. The long delay in actually transferring the body suggests that the determining factors were political rather than geographical. It is of no little significance that Gleb was denied burial in Novgorod where he had ruled for some ten years. Svyatoslav, as has been suggested, designated Novgorod as Gleb's patrimony. If Izyaslav, as prince of Kiev, allowed the body to be interred in Novgorod his permission would be tantamount to admitting that the town had become Gleb's hereditary domain and, concomitantly, that it belonged to Svyatoslav's family. Izyaslav would be foolish to provide Oleg with such a strong claim to Novgorod. Therefore, the body was brought to Chernigov, Svyatoslav's own patrimony.

In Chernigov, Gleb's body was placed outside the Holy Saviour Cathedral rather than inside it next to his father.²² This was in accordance with the custom which allowed only princes who actually ruled the patrimonial capital to be buried inside the cathedral. Even though Gleb died as the senior prince of the family he never ruled from his father's throne. Nevertheless, Gleb's burial next to the Holy Saviour Cathedral had important political implications. It confirmed that the princes of Rus' considered Chernigov to be the patrimony of the Svyatoslavichi and their official mausoleum even during Vsevolod's reign in the town.

Thus we see that, on the one hand, Izyaslav took advantage of Gleb's

²¹ Ipat., col. 230; Lav., col. 240.

²² Gleb was probably buried in one of the chapels built adjacent to the cathedral, perhaps the one located on the northeast corner where the remains of a body dating from this period were discovered (Makarenko, "Chernihivs'kyi Spas. [Arkhеologichni doslidy r. 1923]," pp. 7-8, 11-5).

death to increase his jurisdiction over Novgorod. On the other hand, the Svyatoslavichi were left with a greatly reduced territorial base consisting of the two most distant districts of Svyatoslav's original patrimony: Tmutarakan' and Murom. Therefore, only one year after he returned to power Izyaslav succeeded in forcing the Svyatoslavichi out of the geographical kernel of Rus' by depriving them of Chernigov and in making them ineffectual members of the "inner circle" by seizing Novgorod. The loss of their patrimony was critical for the Svyatoslavichi. It became painfully clear to Oleg, the new senior prince of the family, that Izyaslav intended to reduce the Svyatoslavichi to political impotence in the manner that the triumvirate had relegated the families of Vladimir, Igor' and Vyacheslav into insignificance.

B. OLEG'S OFFENSIVE

In 1078, Oleg initiated a relentless and at times bitter crusade against his two uncles and their sons. The elder uncle, Izyaslav, was prince of Kiev; his sons Svyatopolk and Yaropolk ruled Novgorod and Vyshgorod. The younger uncle, Vsevolod, controlled Chernigov and his son Monomakh was in Smolensk. Oleg, who had fled from Chernigov to Tmutarakan' in April, unexpectedly became senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi in the following month after Gleb's untimely death. Fortified with this new moral authority he used Roman's domain to marshall all his allies. Four months after his flight he was prepared to launch his first offensive.

We are told that Oleg and his cousin Boris Vyacheslavich brought the Polovtsy to the land of Rus' and marched against Vsevolod. The latter came out of Chernigov on 25 August and confronted them on the river Szhitsa (Sozh').²³ The Polovtsy defeated "Rus', and many [of them] were killed on this spot: Ivan Zhiroslavich' was killed, and Tyuky the brother of Chyudin', Porey, and many others." When they realized they had won the day Oleg and Boris occupied Chernigov. The chronicler concludes his

²³ The river Szhitsa is a tributary of the Dnepr north of Lyubech (*Imennoy i geograficheskiy ukazateli k ipatevskoy letopisi*, compiled by L. L. Murav'eva, L. F. Kuz'mina, gen. ed. V. I. Buganov, [M., 1975], p. 103; Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 231). Oleg evidently circled Chernigov and approached it from the north rather than marching against the town from the south and exposing his forces to attack while crossing the Desna.

account by observing that the princes inflicted much evil on the land of Rus' by shedding Christian blood. They would have to answer to God for the loss of Christian souls.²⁴

As the new "father" of the Svyatoslavichi Oleg quickly demonstrated his leadership qualities. Unlike Gleb, he resolved to fight his uncles for the return of his family's patrimony. His expedition was the first occasion on which a Svyatoslavich attacked Vsevolod, but none of Oleg's brothers came with him. Later evidence will show that only Roman was an active supporter of his military ventures. In 1078 the only prince who accompanied Oleg was his cousin Boris. This ally had already attempted single-handedly to seize control of Chernigov for Oleg in the previous year.

According to the PVL, Oleg was also the first prince to use the Polovtsy to kill the Christians of Rus'. If we were to believe the chronicler this was also the first occasion on which any prince of Rus' used the Polovtsy as allies. But Monomakh contradicts that assertion. In his "Instruction" he reports that even before Oleg was evicted from Vladimir in 1077, he and Svyatopolk Izyaslavich attacked the inhabitants of Polotsk with the help of the Polovtsy.²⁵

The anti-Oleg chronicler is evidently more interested in moralizing over Oleg's attack than in presenting an accurate report. Monomakh's statement suggests that Oleg was merely following accepted military practice, including, his cousin's example. Moreover, to judge from the account, the Christian victims were Vsevolod's soldiers; there is no reference to an indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants of Rus'. Indeed, at a later date when Vsevolod attacked Chernigov, the townsmen supported Oleg rather than Vsevolod. Unlike the chronicler, they held no grudge against Oleg for using the Polovtsy. Evidently, the latter had spared the "Christians" of Chernigov.

Oleg was neither the first prince nor would he be the last to conscript the Polovtsy so the scribe's condemnation is unjustified. This is all the more so because he censures only Oleg from among all his contemporaries. The author condemns him proclaiming that God would punish the prince for shedding Christian blood; he reiterates this sentiment with even greater vehemence on later occasions. It is in large part owing to these

²⁴ Ipat., col. 191; Lav., col. 200.

²⁵ Lav., col. 247; PC, pp. 211-2.

accusations that the image of Oleg as the slayer of Christians became embedded in the popular mind of Rus'. This is the view that was propagated by the anonymous twelfth-century author of the *Slovo o polku Igoreve*. He dubbed Oleg *Goreslavich* which has been translated into English as "the son of misfortune" or "the son of woe." It has been wrongly interpreted to mean that Oleg brought misfortune or woe to many Christians in Rus'. We shall see that the sobriquet is meant to reflect the misfortune and woe that Oleg himself suffered at the hands of his peers.²⁶

Nevertheless, Oleg was apparently the first Svyatoslavich to use the Polovtsy. This is surprising given his father's success with them. After his brilliant victory in 1068, Svyatoslav must have concluded pacts with a number of the tribes. And yet, there is no evidence that he used their services in his battles against Rostislav in Tmutarakan', Vseslav of Polotsk, and his brother Izyaslav. Consequently, by conscripting the aid of the Polovtsy Oleg initiated a new policy for his family. It is important to observe that his decision was dictated, in the main, by necessity.

Oleg's occupation of Chernigov was short-lived. Vsevolod refused to capitulate and turned to Izyaslav for reinforcements since, after all, Oleg's attack had been a declaration of war on both brothers because Vsevolod's occupation of Chernigov was part of the pact that allowed Izyaslav to rule in Kiev. At this point in the account the scribe who castigated Oleg for relying on the Polovtsy sings the praises of Izyaslav who in the previous year evicted Oleg from Vladimir and denied him possession of Chernigov. He portrays Izyaslav as a loving brother who in addition to forgiving Vsevolod for all his transgressions against him was now prepared to lay down his life in a spirit of brotherly love. Izyaslav declared that they would either share authority over Rus' or be denied it together. Izyaslav therefore mobilized his forces and summoned his son Yaropolk from Vyshgorod. Similarly, Vsevolod sent for his son Vladimir from Smolensk.

The Yaroslavichi marched against Chernigov but the townsmen barricaded the gates; Oleg and Boris, we are told, were away at an unspecified place. Monomakh stormed the eastern gate and, breaking it down, captured the outer town and set fire to it. The inhabitants fled to the inner town for safety.²⁷ Meanwhile, Izyaslav and Vsevolod learnt that Oleg and Boris were coming with troops and they set out against them. Oleg

²⁶ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 349-70.

²⁷ Concerning the sections of the town see above pp. 11-14.

advised his cousin to negotiate a truce with their uncles because the forces of the four princes greatly outnumbered their own. Boris, however, was puffed up with pride and had his mind set on war. On 3 October the two sides clashed at a place called *Nezhatina niva* and Boris was the first to fall. Soon after, as Izyaslav was standing among his infantrymen, a horseman suddenly rode up, struck the prince in the back with a spear, and killed him. Oleg escaped with difficulty and fled to Tmutarakan'.²⁸

A number of observations can be made. When Vsevolod fled to Izyaslav for help he tested their pact for the first time. Given his former collaboration with Svyatoslav he may well have been apprehensive of Izyaslav's readiness to help him. However, the author of the report took great pains to stress Izyaslav's eagerness to forgive Vsevolod and his willingness to die for his brother's sake. Significantly, he announced that they must stand or fall together. As Izyaslav saw it, his and Vsevolod's hands were tied; having usurped Chernigov, they had to remain united in their fight against the Svyatoslavichi. They had to protect their pact if they hoped successfully to implement their policy of territorial appropriation.

Izyaslav's proclamation to Vsevolod that they must stand or fall together is significant for another reason: he ignored the "father's" obligation allegedly imposed on him by Yaroslav. By attacking Oleg with the intention of seizing his domain Izyaslav and Vsevolod were violating the very principle Izyaslav had been instructed to protect. The chronicler, preoccupied with praising Izyaslav for his love of Vsevolod, neglected to mention that that very love was being put into practice in order to break, yet again, another one of Yaroslav's injunctions.

In 1077, after Izyaslav was reinstated as senior prince, Svyatoslav's sons found themselves in danger of losing their patrimony. Therefore, Oleg went to war against the duumvirate by capturing Chernigov. His failure to keep it would deprive the Svyatoslavichi of their patrimony and their ability to succeed to Kiev. Their political and territorial losses would be even greater than the ones suffered by the debarred families of princes. As a result, after Oleg's defeat at "Nezhatin's field" the future looked very

²⁸ Ipat., cols. 191-3; Lav., cols. 200-2. The exact location of *Nezhatina niva* has not been determined. It was probably near Chernigov not far from the Desna (Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," pp. 227-8). Cf. others who place it near Gorodets (Semenov, vol. 3 [1866], pp. 568-9) or say it was in the district of Kiev (V. P. Neroznak, *Nazvaniya drevnerusskikh gorodov* [M., 1983], p. 126).

bleak for the Svyatoslavichi.

Although Oleg's occupation of Chernigov was shortlived it was not fruitless. The support which the Chernigovans demonstrated for him by barricading the gates against Vsevolod shows they preferred to have him as prince. After occupying the town on 25 August he immediately took advantage of their loyalty. He set out to assert his control over the surrounding towns by replacing Vsevolod's officials with his own. This, in any case, may explain Oleg's absence at the time Chernigov was besieged. The townsmen made a valiant effort to hold off the attackers until he returned, but to no avail. Monomakh, championing his father's interests, now attacked the town of his erstwhile friend and comrade at arms. He broke down the eastern gates and occupied it.

The defeat on 3 October was a serious setback for the Svyatoslavichi, but it had dire consequences for two other princely families as well. To judge from the sources Boris had no heirs. Accordingly, it was at the time of his death, rather than the deaths of his father Vyacheslav or his uncle Igor', that Smolensk passed legitimately into the hands of the prince of Kiev and became part of the "common patrimony."

The second notable casualty at *Nezhatina niva* was Izyaslav. Mystery surrounds his death. We are told that he was mortally wounded from behind while standing in the midst of his infantry. Since Izyaslav was struck down from behind in a "safe zone" the blow was probably dealt by an ally or one who had free passage among Izyaslav's troops. In other words, Izyaslav was assassinated.²⁹

Izyaslav's death was of great moment for Rus'. It heralded important changes in the princely hierarchical structure. Vsevolod became the senior prince in the land and the Izyaslavichi were relegated to a position of secondary importance. As the new prince of Kiev Vsevolod's main objective would be to consolidate his own authority.

It remained to be seen, therefore, how he would treat the Svyatoslavichi. Vsevolod had at least three courses of action open to him: he could preserve the existing arrangement by maintaining his alliance with the Izyaslavichi against the Svyatoslavichi; he could renounce his pact with

²⁹ A. Nikitin, "Ispytanie 'Slovom...'," *Novyy Mir*, (3rd. installment) no. 7 (M., 1984), pp. 176-208 who says Izyaslav was murdered. A late source has unique information. It claims Izyaslav was walking among his troops after the battle and was struck down by one of Oleg's men who had infiltrated behind the Kievan lines (M. Strykowski, *O Początkach...*, ed., J. Radziszewska [Warszawa, 1978] p. 99).

Izyaslav and revert to the agreement he made in 1073 with Svyatoslav; or he could follow the original order seemingly advocated by Yaroslav: the Izyaslavichi and Svyatoslavichi would keep their domains and re-establish the tripartite "inner circle" of princes. Whatever course of action Vsevolod took, Oleg would draw some consolation from two facts: he could count on receiving support from the Chernigovans should the need arise, and the enemy ranks had become significantly weakened with the death of Izyaslav.

C. OLEG'S EXILE

Vsevolod quickly decided what policy to adopt. He followed the course of least resistance and maintained the status quo. The chronicle account states:

Vsevolod sat in Kiev on the throne of his father and his brother, and received absolute authority in Rus'. He appointed his son Vladimir to Chernigov, Yaropolk [Izyaslavich] to Vladimir and gave him Turov as well.³⁰

The new pact that would dictate the course of interprincely relations for the duration of Vsevolod's rule in Kiev was announced.

The entry tells us a number of important things. For example, the chronicler acknowledges Vsevolod's second occupation of Kiev as legitimate by confirming it with the formula "[Vsevolod sat] on the throne of his father and his brother." He apparently neglected to do so when Vsevolod occupied Kiev following Svyatoslav's death. Of course, it is impossible to say whether the omission was deliberate. Nevertheless, the scribe may have been prompted to use the formula after Izyaslav's death because Vsevolod's accession at that time, unlike the first, was according to the system envisioned by Yaroslav: the eldest surviving eligible Yaroslavich succeeded the deceased prince of Kiev.

Svyatoslav had seized control of Kiev out of turn and in his formula the chronicler seems to ignore Svyatoslav's rule. He reports that Vsevolod sat "on the throne of his father [Yaroslav] and his brother [Izyaslav]." This could be interpreted to mean that Vsevolod succeeded only one brother,

³⁰ Ipat., col. 195; Lav., col. 204.

Izyaslav; Svyatoslav's reign was invalid or, at best, not of the same legitimacy as Izyaslav's and Yaroslav's. One reason for such a view would be that Svyatoslav secured power through force rather than natural progression. Nevertheless, the Kievans and the princes of Rus' recognized Svyatoslav's reign. Even Abbot Feodosy ultimately acknowledged it. Therefore, it is unlikely that the chronicler's formula was meant to repudiate the legitimacy of Svyatoslav's rule.

The correct interpretation of the scribe's phrase is simpler. Under the year 1078 he reports that Vsevolod sat on the throne of "his father and his brother." Under 1093 he reports that Svyatopolk came to Kiev and occupied the throne of "his father [Izyaslav] and his uncle [Vsevolod]."³¹ The author is using a set formula for making his reports rather than intentionally omitting the reference to Svyatoslav. In each instance the phrase refers to the same two persons: the man after whom the new prince of Kiev obtained his right of succession, that is, his father since a prince could occupy Kiev only if his father ruled it before him; his immediate predecessor, the prince who had just died (in 1078 this was Vsevolod's brother Izyaslav, and in 1093 it was Svyatopolk's uncle Vsevolod). Accordingly, in 1078 Vsevolod inherited Kiev because he received that right through his father Yaroslav and because his immediate predecessor, Izyaslav, had just died.

We are told also that Vsevolod received absolute rule in Rus'. Since this assertion was made for neither Izyaslav nor Svyatoslav when they occupied Kiev we may assume Vsevolod's position was in some way unique. The key to the interpretation of the phrase may lie in the information that Vsevolod "appointed his son Vladimir to Chernigov." That is, in addition to occupying Kiev, Vsevolod, following the examples of Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, retained control of Pereyaslavl'. In addition, he gave Svyatoslav's patrimony to his eldest son. Thus, unlike Izyaslav and Svyatoslav, Vsevolod was the first prince after Yaroslav to control the entire "kernel" of Rus', that is, the districts of Kiev, Chernigov, and Pereyaslavl'.³²

³¹ Ipat., col. 209; Lav., col. 218.

³² Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 90. Evidently, Vsevolod also retained control of Smolensk, but did not appoint a prince to it. This is suggested by Monomakh in his "Instruction" where he reports that after defeating Oleg and Boris at Chernigov, Vseslav of Polotsk set fire to Smolensk. Monomakh set out from Chernigov in pursuit but he failed to catch Vseslav (Lav., col. 248). Cf. Likhachev who claims Monomakh received Smolensk in addition to Chernigov (*Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, p. 443).

There is an important corollary to the observation that Vsevolod obtained absolute authority over southern Rus' only after Izyaslav's death. This assertion implies he lacked direct control over Chernigov before that date. Accordingly, when he occupied Kiev following Svyatoslav's death the town remained outside his jurisdiction. At that time he evidently recognized the nominal authority of the Svyatoslavichi over their patrimony even though he prohibited Oleg from occupying it.³³

It should be noted that Vsevolod also held a second unique position among Yaroslav's descendants. He assumed an unprecedented degree of moral authority over them by virtue of the consideration that he was the sole surviving son of Yaroslav. His genealogical "equals," the senior princes of the Izyaslavichi and Svyatoslavichi, belonged to the next generation. Since Oleg and his brothers, unlike the Izyaslavichi, concluded no political agreement with Vsevolod, they nevertheless may have been persuaded to curb their hostility towards him, at least to a degree, out of respect for his position as the most senior prince of all the Yaroslavichi. This, at any rate, may be inferred from later developments.

We also see that Vsevolod chose to renew his alliance with Izyaslav's sons rather than with the Svyatoslavichi. He implemented the agreement through his distribution of domains. To Yaropolk, the senior prince of the Izyaslavichi, he gave two towns: Vladimir in Volynia and Izyaslav's patrimony of Turov. In this way Yaropolk had a strong territorial base from which he could make a bid for Kiev when his turn came to occupy it. Vsevolod allowed the younger brother Svyatopolk to retain control of Novgorod.

Svyatoslav's sons fared badly. They were allowed to keep only the two territories they already controlled, Tmutarakan' and Murom. Vsevolod refused to return their patrimony or to give them a town in compensation. This boded ill for the Svyatoslavichi. By seizing Chernigov Vsevolod deprived them of their power base. Oleg realized that Vsevolod, like Izyaslav, was attempting to reduce his family to a position of political impotence.

In the following year, Vsevolod seemingly succeeded in achieving his objective by scoring three important victories against the Svyatoslavichi. Let us first examine a chronicle account which, because of its singular

³³ See above, pp. 135-8.

paucity of detail, strongly suggests that its author attempted to conceal Vsevolod's complicity in a crime.

The PVL states that in the summer of 1079 Roman and the Polovtsy came from Tmutarakan' to Voin', a southern outpost of Pereyaslavl' located on the river Sula where it flows into the Dnepr.³⁴ Before they attacked it appears that Vsevolod, who was visiting Pereyaslavl', concluded peace with the Polovtsy forcing Roman to withdraw. On 2 August, as he was returning home, the Polovtsy killed Roman. The chronicle reports that "the bones of him who was the son of Svyatoslav and grandson of Yaroslav lie on that spot to this day."³⁵

Oleg's name is not mentioned in the account, but it is safe to assume that, as the senior prince he not only approved but probably initiated his brother's campaign. However, Roman adopted a different tactic to Oleg. Whereas the latter captured Chernigov itself, Roman intended to campaign in Vsevolod's patrimony. It lay exposed to attack on the southern frontiers of Rus', and Vsevolod would undoubtedly be eager to negotiate a settlement which guaranteed its safety. Roman's strategy, we may assume, was to coerce Vsevolod into returning Chernigov by inflicting, or threatening to inflict, as much damage as possible to the lands of Pereyaslavl'.³⁶

His strategy failed because Vsevolod concluded a separate deal with the Polovtsy to avoid making one with him. Vsevolod found it cheaper to buy them off for an unspecified price rather than capitulate to Roman's demand and relinquish control of Chernigov. By bribing the Polovtsy Vsevolod undermined Roman's campaign; his retinue was too small to attack Pereyaslavl' on its own. Moreover, he now had to contend with the Polovtsy as well since Vsevolod bought their services. The terms of Vsevolod's pact with them are unknown, but we may assume it was as a direct result of this agreement that the Polovtsy massacred Roman and his entire *druzhina*.³⁷ With the murder of the second Svyatoslavich in as many years

³⁴ Kuza, *Malye goroda*, pp. 75-6; *Arkheologiya Ukrainskoy SSR*, 3 (1986), pp. 328-34.

³⁵ Ipat., cols. 195-6; Lav., col. 204. This phrase is echoed in the "Lay of Igor's Campaign" (Rybakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 445).

³⁶ Oleg used a similar strategy later in 1096 when he pillaged Monomakh's territories in the Rostov region in the hope of regaining control of his own domains (see below, p. 204).

³⁷ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 353; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 72; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 86; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 168; cf. Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy*, p. 99.

Vsevolod's policy of weakening his nephews' resources grew in momentum.

Roman's death dealt another severe blow to the already plummeting fortunes of the Svyatoslavichi. Tmutarakan' now had no prince. Moreover, Roman, like Gleb before him, apparently died without an heir.³⁸ His death and the destruction of his *druzhina* also deprived Oleg of the only support he had received from his family. The ranks of the Svyatoslavichi were now reduced to Oleg and his two younger brothers, the ineffectual David and the politically immature Yaroslav who was probably still in Saxony with his mother.

Another enigmatic entry under the year 1079 records Oleg's fate. After reporting that Roman was killed the author adds "and Oleg was captured by the Khazars and sent beyond the sea to Constantinople. [Then] Vsevolod appointed his *posadnik*, Ratibor, to Tmutarakan'."³⁹ Since the Polovtsy and the Khazars, the agents of Roman's death and Oleg's exile, were allies, the two events were probably related.⁴⁰

Accordingly, Vsevolod was probably implicated in Oleg's expulsion as well.⁴¹ This is supported by the manner in which the chronicler presents his report. He first notes that Roman was killed, then he states that Oleg was captured, and finally, that Vsevolod appointed his own *posadnik* to Tmutarakan'. Since the Khazars co-operated with the Polovtsy it appears that the plot against the two Svyatoslavichi was concocted when Vsevolod made his pact with the Polovtsy because, before that time, the Polovtsy were Roman's allies.

³⁸ Zotov, p. 258.

³⁹ Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 204. A number of historians suggest, wrongly, that the Khazars were the inhabitants of Tmutarakan' and that they captured him in the town (A. Spitsyn, "Istoriko-arkheologicheskiya razyskaniya: II Tmutarakan'," Zh.M.N.P., novaya seriya, chast' XIX (i) (1909), p. 84; V. A. Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," *Sbornik, statey po arkheologii i vizantinovedeniyu* [Institut imeni N. P. Kondakova], V [Prague, 1932], p. 58). Archaeological evidence shows that they were only one of the peoples living in the town and its environs (S. A. Pletneva, *Ot kocheviy k gorodam, Saltovo-mayatskaya kul'tura* [M., 1967], p. 49).

⁴⁰ We learn this from the account reporting Oleg's return to Tmutarakan'. At that time (1083) he slaughtered the Khazars because, according to him, they had advocated Roman's death and his own (Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 353).

⁴¹ Eremin, I. P., *Povest' vremennykh let* (L., 1946), pp. 65-6.

The fact that Oleg was shipped off to Constantinople also bespeaks Vsevolod's complicity.⁴² He was married to a Byzantine princess and as a result maintained contacts with the imperial court.⁴³ Since a prince of Rus' was unable, unilaterally, to deport anyone to Byzantium without the approval of the imperial court, Vsevolod evidently reached an agreement with Nicephoras III, Botaniates (1078-81) concerning Oleg. The Greek government believed it would derive more benefit from having Vsevolod's *posadnik* in Tmutarakan' than the of late troublesome Svyatoslavichi.⁴⁴

There is additional albeit tenuous evidence implying Vsevolod's complicity. His first wife, the mother of Vladimir Monomakh, was a princess of the Monomachus family.⁴⁵ It appears that her family came from either Constantinople or Rhodes.⁴⁶ We shall see that Oleg spent two of his years in exile on the island of Rhodes. Is the association completely fortuitous? Or did Vsevolod's in-laws, the Monomachus family, play a part in helping Vsevolod remove a troublesome nephew by sending him to their island possession which, from classical times, had been a place of exile? The evidence, taken as a whole, suggests that the latter may have been the case.

There is one additional, and perhaps the most convincing, piece of evidence supporting the proposal that Vsevolod was party to the fates of Roman and Oleg. According to the PVL, immediately following Oleg's deportation he appointed Ratibor, his own *posadnik*, to rule Tmutarakan'. The

⁴² This view is held by a number of historians (e.g., Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiyskikh otnosheniy*, p. 419; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 72-3, 79; Eremin, *Povest' vremennykh let*, p. 16, and others).

⁴³ We are told that in 1089 he sent his daughter Yanka to Constantinople to accompany the new metropolitan back to Kiev (Ipat., col. 200; cf. Lav., col. 208).

⁴⁴ Moshin, "Rusakie na Afone," p. 84; G. G. Litavrin, A. P. Kazhdan, Z. V. Udal'tsova, "Otnosheniya Drevney Rusi i Vizantii v XI—pervoy polovine XIII v.," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, (Oxford, 5-10 September 1966), ed. J. M. Hussey, D. Obolensky, S. Runciman (London, 1967), p. 77; cf. Obolensky who suggests that the initiative for Oleg's exile came from the Greeks ("Vladimir Monomakh," pp. 93-4).

⁴⁵ See s.a. 1053, Ipat., col. 149; Lav., col. 160; PC, pp. 142 and 263 (n. 192; Baum. I, 26. It has been suggested that Vsevolod married the daughter of Constantine IX Monomachus from the emperor's second marriage (Yanin and Litavrin, "Novye materialy," p. 221).

⁴⁶ Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gosподsvuyushchego klassa*, p. 203.

decisiveness of Vsevolod's action suggests that he was not only well informed of events transpiring in the southern town but, similar to Izyaslav who sent Svyatopolk to Novgorod immediately following Gleb's murder, had a man waiting in the wings to fill the vacated post.

The PVL fails to tell us Vsevolod's plan of action against Roman and Oleg. Did he intend, as it actually transpired, to kill Roman? There is no conclusive evidence to suggest this. And yet, after Gleb was murdered near Novgorod Vsevolod evidently allowed his body to be brought over great distances to Chernigov and buried beside the Holy Saviour Cathedral. Roman's corpse, however, was left to rot like carrion on the steppe.

No explanation is given why. On the one hand, does it point an accusing finger at Vsevolod who, as a conspirator, had no intention of honouring the body of a defiant prince with an honourable burial? Gleb had not attacked Izyaslav and his case had been different. On the other hand, we must remember that in the past Vsevolod and his sons enjoyed close personal ties with Svyatoslav's family. Therefore, it could be argued that Vsevolod would have buried Roman if he knew the location of the body. He failed to do so because he had no knowledge where the massacre occurred. This suggests that none of his men could take him to the spot because they were not involved in the carnage. Our observations, therefore, are inconclusive.

Let us turn to another consideration. If Vsevolod commissioned Roman's death but decreed that Oleg be sent into exile, why did he discriminate between the two brothers? Since Oleg was the senior of the two and the actual claimant to Chernigov, it would have been of greater advantage to kill him. Instead, Oleg was given the more lenient sentence. This observation suggests that Vsevolod may not have ordered Roman's death.

The above contention appears to be supported by Oleg's behaviour after he returned from exile. At that time he accused the Khazars of instigating his brother's death and of plotting his own. Significantly, he made no such accusation against Vsevolod, that is, he did not hold his uncle responsible for Roman's death. Indeed, Vsevolod's intention may have been merely to imitate the example of Svyatoslav. In 1073, after usurping Kiev, the latter demonstrated no desire to kill his elder brother and his sons but merely expelled them from Rus'. Similarly, in 1079, Vsevolod may have intended to remove the two Svyatoslavichi from Tmutarakan'. Unfortunately for Roman, he fell victim to Polovtsian treachery contrary to Vsevolod's directive.

Oleg was spared a similar fate at the hands of the Khazars, perhaps through the intervention of Ratibor, Vsevolod's man in Tmutarakan'. However, we lack specific information concerning the developments after Roman's death. Even so, it may be useful to ask a number of relevant questions. For example, did Oleg attempt to assume control of Tmutarakan' after it lost its prince? Was this one of the reasons why the Khazars rebelled against him? Was another reason the news that their allies the Polovtsy had formed a pact with Vsevolod against the Svyatoslavichi? Consequently, just as the Polovtsy killed Roman, the Khazars opposed Oleg's rule in Tmutarakan' and, according to the prince, plotted his death.

Given Vsevolod's complicity in Oleg's exile, Ratibor probably arrived in Tmutarakan' before he, Oleg, was deported. Therefore, Ratibor seized control of the town with the Khazars' help. As has been noted, Oleg accused the Khazars of intending to kill him; they apparently considered it to be of no advantage to them to send him into exile. And yet, the Khazars ultimately agreed to this arrangement. They were therefore dissuaded from their original intent by someone who refused to resort to murder, someone who commanded enough authority to reverse their decision, someone who had sufficient influence with the Greeks to arrange Oleg's deportation to Byzantium. Vsevolod qualified on all counts, and his new *posadnik* Ratibor was in a position to act on his behalf. He persuaded the Khazars to let Oleg live and ship him off to Constantinople.⁴⁷

In any event, Oleg's deportation in 1079 marked the second coup for Vsevolod. He rid himself of his most bellicose nephew who was both the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi and the legitimate heir to Chernigov. Oleg's position was now like that of his uncle Izyaslav after he was expelled from Kiev by Svyatoslav and fled to the Poles in search of aid.

Vsevolod's third victory was the acquisition of Tmutarakan'. After that, the only domain that remained in the hands of the Svyatoslavichi

⁴⁷ The possibility that Ratibor was implicated is strengthened by sphragistic evidence. Seven seals which he issued at different periods of his career have been found, a number of them in the very places associated with Oleg's exile, that is, Kiev and Constantinople (Yanin, *Aktovye pechati*, pp. 60-4; Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, pp. 84-5). It cannot be proven that the seals found in the two centres were attached to documents he sent from Tmutarakan', nor that they were associated with Oleg's exile. Nevertheless, the evidence that Ratibor corresponded with Kiev and Constantinople confirms he maintained contacts with the two capitals directly involved with Oleg's exile.

was Murom. David, evidently the only Svyatoslavich (aside from Yaroslav who was in Saxony) who escaped death or exile, was allowed to keep his domain, but we cannot be certain. Vsevolod found no threat in allowing the most distant and the poorest portion of Svyatoslav's patrimony to remain in the hands of his least effective son; indeed, David has yet to be mentioned by the chronicler. With his last triumph, Vsevolod reduced the Svyatoslavichi to political insignificance. The only way they might stage a comeback was if Oleg received support from the Greeks just as Izyaslav had obtained help from the Poles.

Only three facts are known concerning Oleg's exile. We shall see that he returned to Tmutarakan' in 1083; therefore he was in exile four years. A certain Abbot Daniil who probably came from a monastery in Chernigov⁴⁸ wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in which he makes a passing reference to Oleg stating that he spent "two summers and two winters" on the island of Rhodes.⁴⁹ The third item of information is that Oleg was allowed to marry a Greek noblewoman, a certain Feofania (Theophania) Muzalon.⁵⁰

There is no written evidence as to where Oleg was married. However, historians generally believe the ceremony took place in Greece,⁵¹ probably, on the eve of Oleg's departure from Byzantium. To judge from customary Greek diplomatic practice, the marriage contract undoubtedly formed part of the arrangement under which the prince of Rus' was al-

⁴⁸ *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po soyatoy zemle v nachale XII-go veka (1113-1115)*, ed. A. S. Norov (Spb., 1864), pp. iii, 113 and the passage where he describes how he was joined by pilgrims from Novgorod and Kiev, indicating he was neither (p. 143). See also V. V. Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya' igumena Daniila," TODRL, vol. 10 (1954), pp. 98-9, 101.

⁴⁹ *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila*, p. 7; *Igumen Daniil Khozhenie*, pp. 8-9; Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya'," pp. 92-105; O. V. Tvorogov, "Daniil," *Slovar'*, I, pp. 109-12.

⁵⁰ Khr. Loparev was the first to identify Feofania as Oleg's wife ("Vizantiyskaya pechat' s imenem russkoy knyagini," *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, vol. 1 [Spb., 1894], pp. 159-66. See also Zotov, p. 24; Baum., IV, 4; *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 412-3.

⁵¹ See, for example, Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, p. 82; Likhachev, *Materialy*, p. 140; Yanin, "Pechati Feofano Muzalon," p. 81; Litavrin, et al. "Otnosheniya Drevney Rusi i Vizantii," p. 77; Cf. Priselkov who suggested that Oleg married a Rhodian noblewoman ("Russko-Vizantiyskie otnosheniya X-XII vv.," p. 105).

lowed to return to Tmutarakan'.⁵² It has been suggested that Feofania's family had an important function in the Orthodox Church,⁵³ and that it was associated (at least in the thirteenth century) with the town of Adramyttium (modern Edremit) on the west coast of Asia Minor.⁵⁴

We may make two additional observations concerning Oleg's sojourn in Greece. Like Izyaslav who persistently sought help from foreign rulers while he was in exile, Oleg obtained aid from the Greeks for his return to Tmutarakan'. Moreover, Oleg may have volunteered his military services to his custodians to curry favour with them since the Greeks, as far as it is possible to ascertain, had no animosity towards him. Whatever the terms of his stay in Greece, Oleg successfully ingratiated himself with his keepers. The imperial court gave him the hand of an aristocratic woman in marriage and after four years helped him return to Tmutarakan'.⁵⁵

During Oleg's absence from Rus' two debarred princes seized control of Tmutarakan'. On 18 May 1081, according to the PVL, David Igorevich fled with Volodar' Rostislavich; they came to Tmutarakan', defeated Rati-bor and occupied the town.⁵⁶ We know neither from where they fled nor why. However, it appears that, after Vsevolod successfully removed the Svyatoslavichi from their towns of Chernigov and Tmutarakan', he turned

⁵² Loparev, 'Vizantiyskaya pechat', p. 163.

⁵³ One of its members became Patriarch Nicolas IV in the twelfth century (V. Grumel, *Les registres de 1043 à 1206* [Le patriarcat byzantin, 1st Ser., 1.3; Paris, 1947], pp. 98-103). However, in the thirteenth century George Muzalon evidently became regent for the Nicaean Empire (A. V. Soloviev, 'Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire à l'Époque des Comnènes?', *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, eds. F. Dolger and H.-G. Beck [München, 1960], p. 580).

⁵⁴ A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gosподstvyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (M., 1974), pp. 150-1, 203; Dimnik, 'Oleg Svyatoslavich,' pp. 353-4.

⁵⁵ In 1081 Alexius I Comnenus deposed the emperor who concluded the agreement with Vsevolod concerning Oleg. It has therefore been suggested that the two years Oleg spend on Rhodes were probably 1079-81. His marriage and return to Tmutarakan' was arranged by Alexius who placed greater importance on marriage alliances to establish imperial control over territories surrounding the Black Sea (G. G. Litavrin, 'Rus' i Vizantiya v XII veke,' *Voprosy istorii*, 7 [M., 1972], p. 40; Soloviev, 'Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire,' p. 576). It has also been noted that Oleg's mother Killikiya was probably a Greek. Therefore, Oleg undoubtedly turned to his Greek relatives for diplomatic and military assistance.

⁵⁶ *Ipat.*, col. 196; *Lav.*, col. 204.

his attention to the two debarred families (i.e., the descendants of Vladimir of Novgorod and Igor' of Vladimir) forcing them to form a pact against him. They fled from their domains and, following the examples of Rostislav, Boris, and Oleg, sought sanctuary in Tmutarakan'.⁵⁷

Vsevolod made no effort to evict them. This comes as no surprise. The distant domain was especially difficult to control because it was not contiguous with the lands of Rus'. A punitive force from Kiev would first have to cross the steppes controlled by the warring Polovtsy. Moreover, Vsevolod's initial interest in seizing Tmutarakan' had been primarily to drive out the Svyatoslavichi because it had served as their base of resistance against him. As long as it remained out of their hands it mattered little to him whether it was ruled by the two fugitives or his *posadnik*. Indeed, Vsevolod may have looked upon their seizure of the town as a welcome expedient. It kept the two malcontents out of the unspecified region from which they fled which, evidently, Vsevolod was more desirous of controlling than Tmutarakan'. As for Oleg's brother David, he continued to demonstrate a complete lack of initiative in defending his family's domains. There is no evidence that he attempted to reclaim Tmutarakan' from his cousins David and Volodar'.

D. OLEG IN TMUTARAKAN'

In 1083 Oleg attacked Tmutarakan'. He captured David the son of Igor' and Volodar' the son of Rostislav and occupied the town. Then he slaughtered the Khazars who had advocated his brother's death and his own, but David and Volodar' he set free.⁵⁸ It is generally agreed that the Greeks subsidized Oleg's return, but two unresolved questions remain: what were the conditions that the imperial court attached to its support, and in what way, if any, was Vsevolod involved with Oleg's return?

Let us begin our examination of these questions with a general observation. When Oleg was sent into exile he lost the military backing of

⁵⁷ Interestingly enough, Volodar' had an additional reason for seizing Tmutarakan'; he could argue that he had the right to sit on the throne of his father who died there as prince.

⁵⁸ Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205.

his *druzhina*. Therefore, when he launched his attack from Greece he had no force of his own to recapture Tmutarakan'. On his arrival on the Taman' peninsula a number of his retinue would have rallied to his cause, but their help was undoubtedly insufficient to recapture the town. Moreover, no support was forthcoming from his younger brother David. As a result, he must have been given military aid by the Greeks with the authorization of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus.⁵⁹

Since the Greeks allowed Oleg, a political exile, to marry a Greek noblewoman whose family evidently enjoyed considerable influence at the imperial court, permission was granted at the highest level. As has been suggested, the emperor probably used the marriage to cement a political alliance with Oleg. The terms of the agreement are unknown but one thing can be taken for granted. In exchange for ensuring him control of Tmutarakan' Oleg promised to remain an ally of Alexius I.⁶⁰ The emperor's main expectation of the prince was that he protect Greek interests in the Taman' peninsula. In return, the emperor, or what is more likely, the Muzalon family, financed the troops necessary to repatriate him.

Vsevolod evidently demonstrated no outward sign of disapproval to this agreement. Even if he wished to do so, it was dangerous for Vsevolod to march across the hostile steppes to evict Oleg from Tmutarakan'. Besides, in 1083 it was no longer under his control so Oleg's seizure of the town deprived him of no territory. In any event, to judge from his treatment of David and Volodar', Vsevolod was too busy asserting his authority over the princelings in Rus' to become involved in affairs on the Black Sea coast.

Finally, it is unlikely that Vsevolod wanted to jeopardize his relations with the new emperor of Constantinople with whom, it appears, he established amicable relations. In the opinion of a large number of historians, Alexius and Vsevolod collaborated on the terms of Oleg's occupation of

⁵⁹ Cf. Golubovsky who argues, unconvincingly, that the Chernigovans and the citizens of Tmutarakan' probably paid a ransom for Oleg's release (*Istoriya Sever-skoy zemli*, p. 87).

⁶⁰ A. P. Kazhdan, "Vizantiyskiy podatnoy sborshchik na beregakh kimmeriyskogo bospora v kontse XII v.," *Problemy obshchestvenno-politicheskoy istorii Rossii i slavyanskikh stran* (M., 1963), p. 93.

Tmutarakan'.⁶¹ Although the chronicler does not explicitly say so, it appears that Oleg pledged to live in peace with his uncle. This is supported by the evidence that Oleg did not attack Vsevolod for the remainder of his life.

To judge from these observations and from the laconic entry reporting Oleg's seizure of Tmutarakan', he encountered no serious opposition. He took David and Volodar' captive but released them soon after. He undoubtedly sympathized with their plight. The two princes had been forced to flee from their domains owing to Vsevolod's overbearing measures and occupied Tmutarakan' out of desperation rather than out of animosity towards Oleg. In any case, they had seized it from Vsevolod and not from the Svyatoslavichi. Just like Oleg, they were the victims of Vsevolod's expansionism. Therefore, Oleg harboured no hatred towards them. As we shall see, there is even reason to believe that he named his second son Igor' after David's father.

Oleg probably received backing from the militia of Tmutarakan'. To judge from the available evidence, the townsmen preferred the Svyatoslavichi to the debarred princes. After the death of Rostislav (1066) the inhabitants sent Nikon "the Great," abbot of the local monastery, to supplicate Svyatoslav for his son Gleb whom Rostislav had evicted. They expressed no desire to be governed by Rostislav's heirs. Similarly, in 1083 the people of Tmutarakan' apparently preferred Oleg to Rostislav's son Volodar'. Indeed, as has been noted, they had already experienced Oleg's rule for the interim between Gleb's move to Novgorod and 1073, when Svyatoslav appointed Oleg to Vladimir. The length of Oleg's stay after 1083 also confirms the people's satisfaction with his administration. He remained as prince for over ten years and, when he finally left, it was of his own choosing.

After Oleg occupied Tmutarakan' he took punitive measures against the Khazars. He mercilessly slaughtered them because, he claimed, they instigated his brother's death as well as his own. Since they are identified as a tribal group this suggests that they also held some form of political status. They were not, as has been suggested, merely one of the peoples

⁶¹ See, for example, Likhachev, "Russko-vizantiyskie otnosheniya IX-XII vv.," p. 105; Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiyskikh otnosheniy*, p. 420; *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, p. 403. Cf. Hrushevsky who says Vsevolod was opposed to Oleg's return (*Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 73, and Moshin, "Russkie na Afone," p. 82).

who lived in Tmutarakan'.⁶²

Oleg did not exact satisfaction from the Polovtsy. Similarly, he levied no accusation against Vsevolod. This can be explained in one of two ways: either Oleg held his uncle responsible for Roman's death but the chronicler failed to record it, or, Vsevolod was innocent and the culprits were the Khazars. The latter explanation, it would appear, is more plausible in the light of additional evidence. As noted above, Vsevolod made no attempt to challenge Oleg's return to Tmutarakan'. It was suggested that one reason for his compliance with the emperor's wish was that the two men agreed upon the terms of Oleg's reinstatement.

Even more important is the evidence which suggests that Vsevolod and Oleg themselves became reconciled around this time. Two facts in particular speak in support of this. The first is onomastic evidence. We have no chronicle information concerning the birth of Oleg's first son. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he was born around 1083 or 1084, that is, soon after Oleg and his wife arrived in Tmutarakan', around a year after their marriage.⁶³ Significantly, Oleg named him Vsevolod, presumably, in honour of his uncle.

This information is surprising. The selection of a name, especially for the eldest son who according to custom would become the head of the family after him, was undoubtedly made after serious deliberation. For example, Oleg's two younger brothers David and Yaroslav named their eldest sons Svyatoslav in honour of their father.⁶⁴ Oleg, on the contrary, named his firstborn after his uncle Vsevolod who not only deprived him of his patrimony but also helped to send him into exile. His decision leads to only one conclusion. The two princes were reconciled before the son was born, either while Oleg was still in exile or soon after he returned to Tmutarakan'.

If the two princes were reconciled, as we believe was the case, they must have either achieved their political objectives or, failing that, reached a compromise. Oleg's main objective was to regain possession of Chernigov, but we know Vsevolod refused to part with it. Therefore, we may assume the two reached a compromise and each prince made some conces-

⁶² See above, p. 156. As we shall see, they were probably the inhabitants of Khazaria.

⁶³ Cf. Zotov, p. 262 who makes the implausible suggestion that Vsevolod was born in 1094.

⁶⁴ Baum., IV, 7 and 16.

sion. As we shall see, Oleg agreed to acknowledge Vsevolod's control of Chernigov for the remainder of his life. However, it is more difficult to determine what the latter conceded to Oleg.

Granted, Vsevolod permitted Oleg's return to Tmutarakan' but in doing so he merely capitulated to the wishes of the Greeks rather than making a special concession to his nephew. Vsevolod's compliance with the emperor's policy was unlikely to evoke in Oleg the type of affection which prompted him to name his firstborn son Vsevolod. We must look for another concession which the uncle made to Oleg.

Vsevolod did perform a service which, although ignored by the chronicler, could be construed as a special favour to Oleg and all the Svyatoslavichi. Before his untimely death Svyatoslav began building a stone church in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod. The narrative account of SS. Boris and Gleb alone reports that Vsevolod, after becoming the prince of Kiev, completed the edifice on an unspecified date. However, the very night it was completed the roof fell in. Believing that by erecting the church he had fulfilled his obligation to God, Vsevolod made no effort to repair the damage.⁶⁵

This statement suggests that Vsevolod made a pledge to complete the church. He made the promise either to Svyatoslav before his death (1076) or to Oleg before they concluded their pact around 1083. If Svyatoslav received the oath from him then Oleg, on becoming the senior prince of the family, undoubtedly brought pressure to bear on Vsevolod to fulfil his obligation.⁶⁶

The fact remains that Vsevolod did complete the church. Assuming that his oath and Oleg's choice of name are related, it would appear that Vsevolod made his promise either while Oleg was still in exile or soon after he returned to Tmutarakan'. Given the great devotion the Svyatoslavichi demonstrated towards the martyrs, Oleg may well have made the completion of the church the condition on which he agreed to forfeit

⁶⁵ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 65-6; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 356-7. Priselkov was of the opinion that Vsevolod finished the building between the years 1081 and 1088 (*Ocherki*, p. 232).

⁶⁶ The possibility that Oleg acted in this manner is suggested by the information that, at a later date, he and David pleaded with Izyaslav's son Svyatopolk and Vsevolod's son Monomakh to complete the church and to consecrate it (Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 357, 363-4, 365; see below, p. 276).

control of Chernigov during Vsevolod's reign.⁶⁷

As a result of the political reconciliation and Vsevolod's "favour" to the Svyatoslavichi, Oleg remained at peace with his uncle until the latter's death. The lack of any chronicle evidence concerning such conflicts as existed between the two princes before Oleg's deportation indicates that they lived at peace. In the light of Oleg's debt to the Greeks for reinstating him in Tmutarakan' it is difficult to determine what political obligations, if any, Oleg had to the prince of Kiev. However, it is unlikely that his duties were like those of the Izyaslavichi. Given the great distance that separated Rus' from Tmutarakan', Oleg was evidently never called upon to assist Vsevolod in campaigns.⁶⁸ Moreover, his presence in Tmutarakan' was demanded by the Greeks since it was his duty to protect their interests in that region. Therefore, it appears that Oleg's relation to his uncle was more like that of a foreign ruler than a vassal.

As senior prince Oleg would have under normal circumstances exercised considerable moral authority over his brothers. However, during this period of the Svyatoslavichi "diaspora," communication between him and his brothers was probably sporadic at best. Yaroslav, as we have seen, accompanied his mother to Saxony and remained there for an unspecified period. The whereabouts of David during Oleg's stay in Tmutarakan' is just as uncertain. After Oleg was sent into exile Vsevolod made it difficult for debarred princes like David Igorevich and Volodar' to find domains; we may assume that he treated Oleg's brother in a similar manner. Therefore, it is unlikely that he gave David an important town like, for example, Smolensk. However, it is reasonable to assume that he allowed the Svyatoslavich to remain in Murom where he may already have been prince. The town, in fact, fell under Oleg's jurisdiction owing to his seniority in the Svyatoslavichi family.

There is some evidence, albeit ever so slight, to suggest that Oleg controlled Murom while he was prince of Tmutarakan'. Archaeologists have discovered the remains of the fortified site called Ol'gov gorodok

⁶⁷ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 355-9. It is noteworthy that Oleg's brother David named his third son Vsevolod. The date of his birth is unknown, but, to judge from his name, he was probably born after Vsevolod's "favour" to the Svyatoslavichi and that David, like Oleg, named him Vsevolod out of gratitude to his uncle.

⁶⁸ Cf. s.a. 1088, Tat. 2, p. 96 who alone reports that Oleg and David helped Vsevolod against the Poles.

(Novyy Ol'gov gorodok) located at the confluence of the rivers Oka and Pronya some four miles from Ryazan' (present-day Staraya Ryazan'). Investigators identify the settlement with Oleg and suggest that he used it for controlling commerce on the river, for collecting tribute, and for defending the territory. Whether he placed Ol'gov gorodok and the Murom region into the hands of a *posadnik* or gave them to David is unknown.⁶⁹

The PVL also tells us nothing concerning Oleg's relations with the debarred princes of Rus'. However, it is to his credit that he remained loyal to his uncle even though they challenged Vsevolod's allocation of domains.⁷⁰ Oleg could have taken advantage of their complaints to renew his own bid for Chernigov. His restraint supports our contention that he and Vsevolod reached a *modus vivendi*.

Little is known about the organization of the Church in Tmutarakan' during Oleg's reign. It appears that either at the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century the eparchy of the neighbouring region of Zichia, located at Nikopsis, was transferred to Tmutarakan'. However, a change occurred soon after Oleg arrived, that is, after Alexius I Comnenus assumed power. Between the years 1084 and 1095 the original eparchy of Zichia was evidently moved back to Nikopsis and a special archbishopric was established in Tmutarakan'. This situation existed for only a short period. Soon after the see of Tmutarakan' was closed and annexed to the archbishopric of Zichia.⁷¹ It is impossible to know whether the ecclesiastical changes in Tmutarakan' were introduced to reflect the new political arrangement which existed under Oleg. However, as the archbishopric of Tmutarakan' was closed soon after it was created, perhaps its closing was associated with Oleg's departure. We do not know.

It has already been noted that Tmutarakan' had at least one Slavic bishop in the eleventh century. He was Bishop Nicholas (Nikola) but we know little more than his name. Evidently, the "bishop of Tmutarakan'" participated in an exorcism ceremony at the Caves Monastery when Nikon

⁶⁹ A. L. Mongayt, "Staraya Ryazan'," *Voprosy istorii*, 4 (1947), pp. 92-3, and his *Ryazanskaya zemlya*, pp. 335-6; Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 207.

⁷⁰ In 1084 two unidentified Rostislavichi seized Vladimir from Yaropolk, the son of Izyaslav (Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205). The following year, Yaropolk himself plotted against Vsevolod, but Monomakh quelled the revolt (Ipat., col. 197; Lav., col. 205).

⁷¹ Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," pp. 51-4, 58.

"the Great" was abbot. The event probably occurred in 1078 during Nikon's first year in office, but before Nicholas was made bishop.⁷²

In the light of this information, and given that a new archbishopric was established in Tmutarakan' in the early 1080s, it is tempting to assume that Nicholas was the Slavic bishop of Tmutarakan' during Oleg's reign. It also appears that he was the only one. Although we do not know the duration of his term of office, in the twelfth century the archbishopric of Tmutarakan' is no longer identified separately from that of Zichia. Evidently, following Nicholas' death or after his transfer, the eparchy was annexed to that of Zichia.⁷³

There is evidence that Oleg not only propagated the religious tradition of Rus' in general, but also the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb in particular. This is suggested by the existence of a monastery and a church dedicated to them near Tmutarakan' and evidently founded during Oleg's rule in the district.⁷⁴ In general, it appears that for some ten years after his return from exile Oleg resigned himself to living a politically unassuming "provincial" life, as it were. However the exact boundaries of his domain are nowhere defined.

There is sphragistic evidence, albeit disputed, which provides information concerning the extent of Oleg's jurisdiction. A seal attributed to him has the following inscription: "O Lord, help Michael, the *archon* of Matrachia, Zichia, and of all Khazaria." Matrachia is the Greek designation for Tmutarakan'. There is strong evidence to suggest that the territories of Tmutarakan' incorporated a portion of the western side of the Straits of Kerch', including Bosporus (Cimmerian Bosporus), Korchev (present-day Kerch') and its environs.⁷⁵ On the eastern side of the Straits, the

⁷² *Paterik Pecherskyi*, pp. 102-3, 126; Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," pp. 49, 56-7; see also *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevney Rusi*, vyp. I (XI-pervaya polovina XIV v.), gen. ed. D. S. Likhachev (L., 1987), pp. 279-81.

⁷³ Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," p. 61. Cf. Priselkov who suggests that Oleg probably demanded the establishment of a bishopric as one of the conditions of his return to Tmutarakan' (*Ocherki*, pp. 152-3).

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁵ Under the year 1068 we are told that Gleb measured the distance between Tmutarakan' and Korchev. One of the seals attributed to Ratibor was found near Kerch'. A silver coin of Oleg-Mikhail was discovered in a grave dating from the end of the eleventh century next to a medieval church in Korchev (V. V. Kropotkin and T. I. Makarova, "Nakhodka monety Olega-Mikhaila v Korcheve," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya*, no. 2 [1973], pp. 250-1, 254). See also D. I. Ilovaysky, "Neskol'ko

principality extended to the Kuban' river, or so Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us. He writes:

opposite to Bosphorus is the city called Tamatarcha [Tmutarakan']; the width of the strait of this mouth is 18 miles.... After Tamatarcha, some 18 or 20 miles from it, is a river called Oukrouch [Kuban'], which divides Zichia and Tamatarcha.⁷⁶

This information indicates that the principality of Tmutarakan' proper on the eastern coast of the Straits constituted the territory of the Taman' peninsula as far as the two estuaries of the Kuban' river.

Accordingly, Zichia, the second territory allegedly under Oleg's purview, lay on the Black Sea immediately to the east of Tmutarakan' to the south of the Kuban' river. The emperor describes it as follows:

from the Oukrouch to the Nikopsis river, on which stands a city with the same name as the river, is the country of Zichia; the distance is 300 miles. Off the seaboard of Zichia lie islands, the great island and the three islands; and, closer to shore than these, are yet other islands, which have been used for pasturage and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbagannin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia.⁷⁷

The emperor described Zichia as it was in his time during the tenth century. We may assume that the territory was more or less the same during Oleg's reign. However, it is impossible to say how complete his control over it was, or what tribes paid him tribute.⁷⁸

soobrazheniy o pamyatnikakh tmutrakanskoy rusi i tmutrakanskom balvane," *Istoricheskaya Sochineniya D. I. Ilovayskogo*, (M., 1897), p. 21; Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy Krym*, pp. 77, 78; Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*, p. 15, and others.

⁷⁶ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 186-9; Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," p. 48.

⁷⁷ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 186-9; Soloviev, "Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire," p. 573.

⁷⁸ Mongayt, "O granitsakh Tmutarakanskogo knyazhestva v XI v.," p. 59.

To judge from the emperor's account, he considered the Zichians to be of comparable usefulness to the inhabitants of Rus' and the Khazars. He reports that both Zichia and Tmutarakan' provided Constantinople with naphtha, the substance which was necessary for the creation of "Greek fire," Byzantium's secret weapon. He identifies a number of the important wells for this resource.⁷⁹

The third territory under Oleg's control was Khazaria. It undoubtedly constituted the lands of the very Khazars who plotted his death and whom he later punished for their treachery. The sources fail to identify the bounds of this region. However, the outer limits of the Khazar empire which existed in the eighth century have been more or less defined: in the west, they extended to the region of Doros in the Crimean mountains; in the north they reached Kiev and stretched east to Sarkel on the Don and to the capital of Itil' on the lower Volga; from there they ran south along the western coast of the Caspian to the Terek river; finally, they came back westward along the valley of the Kuban' ending at Tmutarakan'.

It is safe to assume that the Khazaria under Oleg's jurisdiction fell within these limits and was much smaller in size. It was probably contained within the area bounded by the towns of Sarkel and Itil' in the north, and the rivers Kuban' and Terek in the south.⁸⁰ Oleg also controlled the west shore of the Straits which, in the past, formed part of the Khazar empire. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that this territory also formed part of the "Khazaria" under his rule.⁸¹

As prince of Tmutarakan' Oleg evidently issued coins. To date, four silver ones bearing his baptismal name Michael have been attributed to him. Three were found in the vicinity of Tmutarakan' on the Taman' peninsula and one was unearthed near Korchev on the west shore of the Straits. Although struck from different moulds the four coins are similar in design. On the obverse is the bust of St. Michael; his head is sur-

⁷⁹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 284-5; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 32-3.

⁸⁰ Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, pp. 174-5; Stokes, "Tmutarakan'," pp. 507-8, 513-4.

⁸¹ See map, no. 4. One view holds that Khazaria constituted territories located only in the Crimea (e.g., Soloviev, "Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire," pp. 572, 580; Mongayt, "O granitsakh Tmutarakanskogo knyazhestva v XI v.," pp. 58-60; V. L. Yanin, "Pechati Feofano Muzalon," *Numizmatika i sfragistika*, 2 [K., 1965], pp. 85-6).

rounded by an aureole, his wings are folded behind him, in his right hand he holds a staff, and in his left a sphere. In the field on either side of his head are the letters M and Kh; a beaded border surrounds the bust. On the reverse a legend of four lines is also encircled with a beaded border. The inscription reads: "Lord, help Michael."⁸²

Oleg probably issued the coins during his first reign in Tmutarakan'. This occurred between Gleb's transfer to Novgorod and 1073, when Oleg himself was appointed to Vladimir.⁸³ Since Michael VII Ducas began his reign in 1071 and Oleg modelled his coins on those of the emperor, it appears that the four silver pieces under investigation were struck between the years 1071 and 1073.⁸⁴ If he struck coins as prince of Tmutarakan' after his exile none have been discovered.

In 1083 when Oleg returned from exile the traditional bond between Tmutarakan' and Chernigov no longer existed because Vsevolod controlled Chernigov. Moreover, Oleg was now the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi. This meant that Tmutarakan' as his town, in effect, became the "capital" of Svyatoslav's descendants. In relation to Kiev it assumed a status like the one Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' enjoyed during the reign of Izyaslav. Oleg's relationship with Constantinople was similar in nature and his obligations to the emperor were undoubtedly those of an ally

⁸² Kropotkin, V. V. and T. I. Makarova, "Nakhodka monet Olega-Mikhaila v Korcheve," pp. 251, 254; Likhachev, *Materialy*, pp. 144-5; A. V. Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya, vyp. 6 (M., 1936), pp. 83-4; Table VI, 9.; A. A. Molchanov, "Tmutarakanskiy chekan knyazya Olega-Mikhaila Svyatoslavicha," *Sovetskaya arkheologiya*, vol. 1 (1982), pp. 251-2.

⁸³ See below, p. 420.

⁸⁴ One view has it that the coins were struck around 1078 while Oleg was staying with his brother Roman in Tmutarakan'. Another has it that Oleg issued them between the years 1083-94. In 1078 the prince of Tmutarakan' was Roman and Oleg was merely a refugee at his court without the authority to strike coins for Tmutarakan'. It has also been argued persuasively that Oleg did not issue coins between the years 1083-94 modelled on those of a deceased emperor, Michael VII Ducas (1071-78), (Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, p. 84; Molchanov, "Tmutarakanskiy chekan knyazya Olega-Mikhaila Svyatoslavicha," pp. 252-3). In the light of these observations both dates (i.e., the year 1078 and the period between 1083-94) are wrong. Sphragistic evidence also supports the view that Oleg ruled Tmutarakan' before 1073; see M. Dimnik, "Oleg's Status as Ruler of Tmutarakan': The Sphragistic Evidence," *Medieval Studies*, 55 (Toronto, 1993), pp. 137-49.

rather than a vassal.⁸⁵

The demands which the Greeks made on Oleg were probably like the ones they had imposed on the princes of Rus' in the past. The best example of this is the treaty that Constantinople made in 944 with Prince Igor'. Two of the clauses dealt specifically with the obligations and the jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev in the Black Sea area. The relevant clauses read as follows:

With regard to the Land of Kherson. The Russian prince of Tmutarakan' has no right to attack any of the cities on the other side of the Kerch' straits [i.e., in Crimea]; but if the latter should cease to submit to Byzantium, and the Russian prince of Tmutarakan' then asks the Grand Prince Igor for troops to reconquer it for Byzantium, the Grand Prince Igor will give him as many troops as he needs for this purpose.... Should the Black Bulgars come and attack the Land of Kherson, the Grand Prince Igor will order the Russian prince of Tmutarakan' not to permit them to do so.⁸⁶

The Greeks demanded that the prince of Tmutarakan' stop attacking Byzantine territories on the west coast of the Straits of Kerch' and oversee their interests in the area. Should the emperor's authority be challenged, it was the duty of the prince of Tmutarakan' to restore it. Oleg's obligations to Alexius I would have been similar.

Another useful comparison can be made. Historians have noted that by the middle of the tenth century the Greeks believed forming alliances with the Pechenegs was the surest way of protecting their interests on the northern shores of the Black Sea. Byzantium's possessions in the Crimea would be safe, its trade with Rus' would prosper, and its would-be enemies would stop their attacks for fear of the Pechenegs. These were the types of benefits the empire would derive, Constantine Porphyrogenitus explained to his son, if it persuaded the Pechenegs to "perform services...for the emperor in Russia and Chazaria and Zichia and all the parts beyond."⁸⁷ His reference to Khazaria and Zichia is striking since it singles

⁸⁵ Concerning Oleg's relations with Kiev and Constantinople in the light of sphragistic evidence, see Dimnik, "Oleg's Status."

⁸⁶ Stokes, "Tmutarakan'," pp. 508-12.

⁸⁷ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 52-3; Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth*, p. 179.

out the very territories over which the Greeks placed Oleg as *archon*. The association is an obvious one. Alexius I hoped to use Oleg in the same manner that his predecessors used the Pechenegs in the middle of the tenth century.

We also have some idea what the Greeks discouraged Oleg from doing. In 1066 Rostislav, who usurped Tmutarakan' from Oleg's elder brother Gleb, was poisoned by a Byzantine official. The chronicler explains that the Greeks removed him because "he collected tribute from the Kasogians and from other lands."⁸⁸ They intended to stop the prince of Tmutarakan' from encroaching on territories under their jurisdiction. Collecting tribute from tribes which the Greeks looked upon as their vassals constituted such a transgression. We may assume, therefore, that after Oleg returned to Tmutarakan' the emperor prohibited him from collecting tribute for himself from "the Kasogians and from other lands."

We know little about Oleg's family life during this period. His children were probably born between the years 1083 and 1094 in Tmutarakan'. Since the PVL does not record their births it is difficult to determine their number and their genealogical seniority. According to available information, he had four sons and no daughters; their order of precedence is generally accepted to be the following: Vsevolod, Igor', Svyatoslav, and Gleb.⁸⁹ They were all born to his wife Feofania.⁹⁰ Even though the chronicler fails to report the birth of even one son Vsevolod was probably born around 1083 or 1084, soon after Oleg returned from exile.

⁸⁸ Ipat, col. 155; Lav., col. 166. The Kasogians evidently were the Circassians who lived in the Kuban' river region (Soloviev, "Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire," p. 575).

⁸⁹ Zotov, pp. 262-5; Rapov, Table 5; cf. Baum., IV, 12-15. Historians are not agreed on the number of Oleg's children. Dworzaczek claims Oleg also had a daughter named Maria (*Genealogia*, Table 29); Hrushevsky omits the son Gleb (*Ocherk*, Genealogical Table); in the opinion of some Oleg had a fifth son named Ivan (Nikon., p. 177; Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 (M., 1962), p. 737; Ekzemplyarsky "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," pp. 244, 250; Zotov, p. 266; S. A. Vysotsky, "Nadpis' s imenami geroev 'Slova o polku Igoreve' v Kievskoy Sofii," TODRL, 31 (1976), pp. 333).

⁹⁰ Karamzin wrongly claimed that Oleg was married a second time to a Polovtsian princess (*Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskago*, vol. 2, p. 90, fn. 228). A number of historians adopted his view (e.g., Zotov, pp. 258-9; Baum., IV, 4; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29).

Oleg's choice of names for his sons is of interest. As has been noted, he probably named his eldest son Vsevolod in gratitude to his uncle after the latter agreed to complete the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod. The second son, Igor', also had one of Oleg's uncles as his namesake. Igor' had received the principality of Vladimir as his patrimony after Oleg's father Svyatoslav departed from it to rule Chernigov. Oleg's choice of the name suggests that he had a special affection for his uncle Igor'.⁹¹

He named his third son, Svyatoslav, after his father. It was fitting that the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi preserve the name of the progenitor of the dynasty among his heirs. Gleb, the fourth son, was named after St. Gleb. This choice of name reaffirms Oleg's special devotion to the younger of the two *strastoterpsy*. In this he imitated the example of his father. Furthermore, Gleb was the name of Oleg's elder brother who was killed in the Novgorod lands. Accordingly, Oleg commemorated the memory of the man he succeeded as senior prince of the family. Oleg's choice of names therefore demonstrates which members of his immediate family he held in high esteem. It is also noteworthy that, with his selection of names, Oleg set a pattern which his descendants would imitate.

In 1094 Oleg would depart from Tmutarakan' never to return. After that date chronicle references to the town cease. What little information we have about the region immediately following Oleg's departure suggests that Alexius I Comnenus assumed direct control of Tmutarakan' and its environs.⁹²

E. THE SVYATOSLAVICHI FORTUNES REVIVED

In 1087 the lot of the Svyatoslavichi improved. Ironically, the change occurred not as a result of any special effort on their part, but owing to political vicissitudes. On 22 November Yaropolk, the senior prince of the

⁹¹ Igor's son David captured Tmutarakan' while Oleg was in exile. Oleg's lenient treatment of his cousin may have been influenced, in part at any rate, by his respect for David's father.

⁹² G. G. Litavrin, "A propos de Tmutarakan," *Byzantion*, vol. 35 (Bruxelles, 1965), pp. 221-34; Kazhdan, "Some Little-Known or Misinterpreted Evidence," p. 345; Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea*, pp. 144-5.

Izyaslavichi, was murdered; he was buried on 5 December in Kiev.⁹³ His untimely death changed the order of succession to Kiev. Yaropolk had been the first in line to succeed Vsevolod; after his death that right passed to his only surviving brother, Svyatopolk. It also meant that Yaropolk's sons became *izgoi*. Svyatopolk's sons remained the only descendants of Izyaslav who still enjoyed the right of succession provided, of course, that Svyatopolk himself replaced Vsevolod. Yaropolk's death also brought the Svyatoslavichi one step closer to Kiev; Oleg stood next in line after Svyatopolk.

Second, Yaropolk's death disrupted the political balance of power. The numerical advantage that the Vsevolod-Izyaslavichi alliance enjoyed over the Svyatoslavichi and the debarred princes was diminished. Vsevolod lost the effective support of an entire branch of Izyaslavichi. As the eldest brother, Yaropolk had commanded the strongest *druzhina* among the Izyaslavichi. After his death it disbanded. Furthermore, since his sons Yaroslav and Vyacheslav were demoted to the position of debarred princes they lost all the political advantages they had enjoyed owing to their father's seniority.

In addition, the loss of Yaropolk undermined the alliance's potential for staffing domains with princes. This was most dramatically illustrated by the Izyaslavichi. Vladimir and Turov were left without a prince. According to Yaroslav's allocations, Turov was the patrimony of the Izyaslavichi. It was the cornerstone of all their territorial holdings. Svyatopolk, the new senior prince of the Izyaslavichi, was forced to vacate the coveted Novgorod and move to Turov in order to assure the family's continued control over its inheritance.⁹⁴ Because the Izyaslavichi were unable to provide princes for all the territories Vsevolod had given them, they forfeited two important domains, Novgorod and Vladimir.

Vsevolod's inability to staff domains with his allies also undermined his authority. For example, he was unable to appropriate Vladimir for himself since he lacked the son necessary to staff it. He considered it

⁹³ See s.a. 1087, Ipat., cols. 197-8; cf. s.a. 1086, Lav., cols. 206-7. Yaropolk's wife, Cunigundis, daughter of Otto Count of Weimar-Orlamunde later Margrave of Meissen, returned to Germany after Yaropolk's death and remarried (PC, p. 274, fn. 268; Baum, II, 1). As we have seen, Svyatoslav's second wife Oda acted in the same manner after his death.

⁹⁴ See s.a. 1088, Ipat., col. 199; Lav., col. 207; Dimnik, "The Testament," p. 384.

imperative to his supremacy in Rus' to keep his sons, Monomakh and Rostislav, in Chernigov and Pereyaslavl'.⁹⁵ Therefore, he was forced to turn for help to the debarred Igorevichi, to the descendants of the very prince from whom the triumvirate had appropriated the domain. Ironically, therefore, Igor's son David whom Vsevolod appointed to Vladimir was also the legitimate ruler of the town according to Yaroslav's original allocation.⁹⁶

The case of Novgorod was similar. Vsevolod's two sons already had domains and Novgorod was far too important a town to be governed by a *posadnik*. Besides, Vsevolod had learnt from his mistake with Ratibor in Tmutarakan'. It would be foolish to delegate a boyar as his lieutenant to Novgorod only to have him driven out by debarred princes who were in search of domains. Even more important, to judge from the demands the Novgorodians made in the past, they would settle for nothing less than a prince. As early as 970 they requested a prince from Svyatoslav and threatened to find one for themselves if he refused.⁹⁷ Some hundred years later the Novgorodians were still of the same mind.

Unlike Igor's patrimony of Vladimir which Vsevolod gave to its rightful ruler David, he refused to turn over Novgorod to the sons of Rostislav. Vsevolod eschewed such an arrangement for good reasons. Yaroslav "the Wise" bequeathed Novgorod to their grandfather Vladimir but the triumvirate appropriated it from his son Rostislav; therefore, should Vsevolod now give it to Rostislav's sons, they would undoubtedly claim it as their own. If they succeeded, the prince of Kiev would lose control over the appointment of Novgorod's prince. Moreover, the Rostislavichi were at war with Vsevolod attempting to assert their claims over the territories which would later become known as Volynia and Galicia.⁹⁸ Indeed, their activity there suggests that they were less interested in ruling

⁹⁵ We learn this s.a. 1093 when Svyatopolk allowed them to keep the domains they had ruled under their father (Ipat., col. 208; Lav., col. 217).

⁹⁶ In fact, David had already been appointed to Vladimir as Vsevolod's agent the year before Yaropolk's death because of the latter's insubordination (see s.a. 1085, Ipat., col. 197; Lav., col. 205).

⁹⁷ Ipat., col. 57; Lav., col. 69.

⁹⁸ In 1084 two of the Rostislavichi seized control of Vladimir (Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205). Three years later the assassin Neradets hired by Ryurik of Pere-myshl', the eldest of the Rostislavichi, killed Yaropolk (s.a. 1087, Ipat., cols. 197-8; cf. s.a. 1086, Lav., cols. 206-7).

Novgorod. As a result, Vsevolod had a difficult decision to make.

His dilemma is reflected in the confused reports of the chronicles, but the following reconstruction of events appears to be plausible. After Svyatopolk departed from Novgorod in 1088 the Novgorodians evidently invited David Svyatoslavich from Murom to be their prince. Vsevolod refused to confirm David's rule and demanded that the Novgorodians take his grandson Mstislav as prince; he appointed David to Smolensk. Mstislav ruled Novgorod for five years until 1093, the year of his grandfather's death. During that period David ruled Smolensk; Murom, where he had been prince before 1088, reverted to Oleg's control.⁹⁹

Thus Vsevolod appointed one of his own offspring to Novgorod and in this way kept the important town under his direct control. The debarred Rostislavichi were once again deprived of their patrimony and the Svyatoslavichi were kept out as well, but at a price. Vsevolod ceded control of Smolensk to David. This is the first occasion on which one of Svyatoslav's sons became prince of Smolensk. As a result of Yaropolk's death, therefore, the fortunes of the Svyatoslavichi improved.

David is mentioned under the year 1088 for the first time. Since we have been told nothing about his political career until then, it comes as no surprise to discover that the chronicles give us little information about his family as well. They neglect to identify his wife or report the date of his marriage.¹⁰⁰ An independent source calls her Feodosia.¹⁰¹ We have no way of knowing whether she, like Oleg's wife Feofania, was a Greek.

Owing to the paucity of information historians disagree concerning the number and genealogical seniority of David's sons. The chronicles speak of five: Svyatoslav (Svyatosha), Vsevolod, Rostislav, Vladimir, and Izyaslav.¹⁰² As we shall see, Svyatoslav (Svyatosha) was the eldest, but

⁹⁹ For a detailed examination of this chronology see Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁰ It appears that David may have married earlier than Oleg, probably while the latter was in exile. This is supported by the observation that David named his second son Vsevolod for the same reason that Oleg named his firstborn Vsevolod (see above, p. 165). Since Oleg's son was born soon after he returned from exile in 1083, David's eldest was presumably born before that date. See Leib who suggests David married around 1082 (*Rome, Kiev et Byzance*, p. 170).

¹⁰¹ Zotov, p. 258; see also Baum, IV, 3; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29.

¹⁰² Zotov, pp. 261-2; Baum, IV, 7-11; Rapov, pp. 104-5. Others claim he had four sons (Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 [M., 1962] p. 737; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29), and others say three (Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, Genealogical Table).

the genealogical order of the remaining four remains uncertain.

Despite the chronicler's failure to give us a description of David, the author of a twelfth-century sermon provides us with what appears to be a reliable albeit idealized portrayal of the prince's character. After reporting David's death the scribe gives a eulogy. In it he praises David for his love of peace, for avoiding internecine strife, for shunning worldly possessions and for imitating the example of brotherly love advocated by SS. Boris and Gleb more zealously than any other prince.¹⁰³

Given David's peaceful nature Vsevolod could argue that the decision to give him Smolensk was not likely to undermine his own authority in Rus'. David would serve him as a loyal vassal. Nevertheless, since the death of Igor' in 1160, when Smolensk reverted to the control of the prince of Kiev, it had traditionally been ruled by a member of Vsevolod's family, notably, Monomakh. Vsevolod's need to forfeit the town to a Svyatoslavich, no matter how harmless the latter appeared, was an important concession. As a result, despite Vsevolod's efforts to immobilize the Svyatoslavichi, before his death they once again became, in theory at any rate, an important political force. In addition to Oleg's territories of Tmutarakan' and Murom they also controlled Smolensk.

On Wednesday of Holy Week, 13 April 1093, Vsevolod the last son of Yaroslav "the Wise," died.¹⁰⁴ Although he began his reign on a hostile footing towards the Svyatoslavichi, by the time of his death he had melted in his policy towards them and made two important conciliatory moves. He approved Oleg's return to Tmutarakan' and, later, appointed David to Smolensk. Unfortunately for Svyatoslav's sons, Vsevolod remained inflexible on the most important issue of all: he refused to repatriate Oleg to Chernigov.

F. SVYATOPOLK IN KIEV

After Vsevolod's death his son Vladimir Monomakh became the senior prince of the Vsevolodovichi. He therewith also became the head of the most powerful family in Rus' and seriously contemplated seizing power. Since he came to Kiev for his father's burial, usurpation appeared to be

¹⁰³ *Slovo pokhval'noe*, pp. 16, 24, 29; see also Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 358.

¹⁰⁴ *Ipat.*, col. 207; *Lav.*, cols. 215-6.

simple. He had no princely opposition in Kiev whatsoever: Svyatopolk of the Izyaslavichi, the heir apparent according to Yaroslav's alleged system of succession, was in Turov. Given the support Monomakh and his father enjoyed in Kiev, it seemed that Monomakh merely had to declare his intention and the Kievans would acclaim him prince. However, the chronicler asserts that Monomakh acknowledged Svyatopolk's prior claim. He reasoned in the following manner: "if I occupy the throne of my father then I must go to war with Svyatopolk because the throne belonged to his father [Izyaslav] first." He therefore withdrew from the town and informed Svyatopolk that it was his for the taking.¹⁰⁵

The prince of Chernigov ceded control of Kiev to the genealogically eldest Yaroslavich. To judge from the chronicler's comment, he was motivated neither by the desire to act in accord with Yaroslav's moral counsel to his descendants nor in compliance with the "ladder" principle of succession. His considerations were more mundane. Monomakh calculated it was inexpedient to wage war against Svyatopolk. Even though he argued that the prince of Turov had a prior claim to Kiev, we must remember that the Svyatoslavichi were also senior to Monomakh. If he usurped power, there was the serious danger that he would be at war with the Izyaslavichi and the Svyatoslavichi. At any rate, even if the two families formed no alliance, Monomakh could be sure that Oleg would take advantage of any conflict between him and Svyatopolk to renew his bid for Chernigov. Accordingly, despite his military advantage Monomakh found it expedient to follow the road of peace. By doing so he allowed the process of succession advocated by Yaroslav to follow its required course.

Monomakh's deliberations exposed the weakest link in the "ladder" system of succession: the period of transition between the death of the prince of Kiev and the accession of his successor. Even though the latter was designated, he realized his military advantage as senior prince only after securing his rule in Kiev on the acclamation of its citizens. Should they reject him by choosing a different prince, or should another prince challenge his claim, he could rely only upon the resources of his own patrimony and those of his allies. Thus, it became advisable for a designated heir to cultivate the friendship of the Kievans prior to his accession and to occupy Kiev quickly after the death of his predecessor to obviate

¹⁰⁵ Ipat., col. 208; Lav., col. 217.

attacks by would-be usurpers. In 1093 it was Monomakh rather than Svyatopolk who prepared himself in this manner. Fortunately for Svyatopolk and the peace of Rus', Monomakh agreed to turn over control of the town to the legitimate successor.

Svyatopolk arrived in Kiev on 24 April, nine days after Vsevolod's death and "sat on the throne of his father and his uncle."¹⁰⁶ It is interesting to note that here, like Vsevolod's succession in 1078, the chronicler confirmed the legitimacy of Svyatopolk's claim with the stock formula that the prince succeeded "his father and his uncle." Thus the chronicler signified that Svyatopolk had the right of succession because his father had ruled Kiev and because he was next in precedence after his uncle Vsevolod.

Although Monomakh conceded control of Kiev to Svyatopolk it appears that, initially at any rate, relations between the two princes were strained. After they buried their father, Monomakh and his brother Rostislav departed from Kiev without pledging allegiance to Svyatopolk. Indeed, there is no indication that Monomakh and Svyatopolk were ever close personal friends. The chroniclers, in general, preserve an unflattering picture of Svyatopolk. He lacked administrative qualities and initiative; he was ambitious, opportunistic, suspicious, and unjust. As prince of Kiev Svyatopolk inflicted many hardships on the people of Rus'.¹⁰⁷

It was the danger of war with the Polovtsy which initially forced the two families to co-operate. According to the PVL, after Svyatopolk occupied Kiev the Polovtsy came to him in order to negotiate peace, but he foolishly antagonized them by imprisoning their envoys. They therefore went on a rampage, pillaged the Kievan lands, and forced Svyatopolk to turn to the Vsevolodovichs for help. Monomakh and Rostislav came to Kiev but quarrelled with Svyatopolk until they were persuaded by cooler

¹⁰⁶ Ipat., col. 209; Lav., col. 218. At the same time he retained control of Turov. For example, we are told that during the salt crisis in Kiev (see below) Svyatopolk sent the monk Ioann from the Caves Monastery to Turov where he imprisoned the monk. On another occasion while Svyatopolk's son Mstislav was torturing two monks in the Caves Monastery hoping to learn from them the location of buried treasure, Svyatopolk himself was in Turov (*Paterik Pecherskyy*, pp. 154, 169). See also Lysenko, "Kiev i Turovskaya zemlya," pp. 92-3.

¹⁰⁷ Ipat., cols. 209-10; Lav., col. 219; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 98; Bagaley, *Russkaya Istoriya*, p. 254.

heads to settle their differences and "kiss the Holy Cross."¹⁰⁸

For the boyars the priority was to take immediate action against the Polovtsy. The princes, however, quarrelled amongst themselves over a different question the outcome of which they evidently considered to be of even greater moment to them. Although the PVL neglects to explain the object of the dispute, some aspect of their political relationship must have been at issue. This was reflected in Svyatopolk's territorial allocations. Monomakh and Rostislav doubtlessly refused to help him until they knew what territories he was willing to give them. In the light of later information we learn that he allowed them to keep Pereyaslavl' and Chernigov. Control of these domains evidently was not disputed.

The princes reached an agreement before marching against the Polovtsy, but, it appears were unable to implement the decision until after the enemy departed from Rus' towards the end of July. Although the PVL fails to tell us, other sources suggest that control of Novgorod was contested by the two princes. Sometime towards the end of 1093 or at the beginning of 1094, "Svyatopolk and Vladimir marched against David [Svyatoslavich] in Smolensk, and they gave David, Novgorod."¹⁰⁹

David's transfer to Novgorod suggests that Svyatopolk and Monomakh had a disagreement over that town. As we have seen, around 1089 Vsevolod had appointed Monomakh's son Mstislav to Novgorod therewith giving Monomakh indirect control over the town. Svyatopolk, as Vsevolod's successor in Kiev, lacked the personal authority over Monomakh that Vsevolod enjoyed. This meant that Svyatopolk had little if any control over affairs in Novgorod. In order to assert his authority over the town it was imperative that he remove Mstislav and appoint his own son in his stead;¹¹⁰ Monomakh objected.

¹⁰⁸ Ipat., col. 210; Lav., col. 219; cf. Gust. pp. 278-9.

¹⁰⁹ NPL, s.a. 1095, pp. 19, 202. The chronicler misplaces the entry under the year 1095. However, as we have seen, David ruled Novgorod only once for a two year period (see below, pp. 422-5). It has been conclusively established that his term of rule ended towards the end of 1095. Therefore, David began his reign either towards the end of 1093 or at the beginning of 1094. See also Kuchkin, *Formirovanie gosudarstvennoy territorii*, pp. 66-7.

¹¹⁰ There is no direct evidence for this. However, there can be no doubt that this was Svyatopolk's objective. For example, in 1102 he unsuccessfully attempted (for the second time) to appoint his own son to Novgorod in place of Monomakh's son Mstislav (Ipat., col. 251; Lav., cols. 275-6).

In the light of the Polovtsian incursions, and on the advice of the boyars the princes reached a compromise. Neither one of them would appoint his son to Novgorod. Instead, they agreed to send David Svyatoslavich from Smolensk. After the Polovtsy withdrew and the two cousins licked their wounds, they rode to Smolensk and informed David of his transfer. Thus, it was thanks to the power-struggle between his cousins that David was awarded Novgorod and the Svyatoslavichi strengthened their position in Rus'.

More significant for our investigation, however, is the information that Svyatopolk refused to return Chernigov to Oleg. His decision may have been influenced, to some degree, by Oleg's part in bringing about his father's death. Before Oleg returned to Tmutarakan' he evidently promised Vsevolod to refrain from attacking Chernigov during his lifetime. Vsevolod's death released Oleg from the pledge and he was free to negotiate a new deal with Vsevolod's successor. However, Svyatopolk had no intention of pursuing a conciliatory policy towards the Svyatoslavichi as he demonstrated by reappointing Monomakh to Chernigov. Oleg forfeited his patrimony yet again, but now he was no longer under the moral constraint of an oath. Svyatopolk evidently was not intimidated by any military threat Oleg, living in distant Tmutarakan', might pose. Besides, he was too preoccupied with the enemy at his doorstep, the Polovtsy.

Svyatopolk, Monomakh, and Rostislav suffered three defeats at the hands of the Polovtsy. The first occurred on 26 May, the Feast of the Ascension, south of Kiev on the banks of the river Stugna near Tropol'. They lost many men and Monomakh's brother, Rostislav, drowned in the river while fleeing. Later, the Polovtsy attacked Torchesk, north of the river Ros'. They laid siege to the town for some three months, captured it, and drove off the inhabitants into slavery. The third disaster occurred on 23 July, on the eve of the feast of SS. Boris and Gleb. The chronicler reports that Svyatopolk went out to drive off the marauders pillaging the region between Kiev and Vyshgorod. He confronted them at the river Zhelan' and suffered an even greater defeat than at Tropol'.¹¹¹

The new prince of Kiev had to pay dearly for his maltreatment of the Polovtsian envoys. Svyatopolk incurred the largest losses of manpower and his lands suffered the greatest destruction. According to the PVL, all three battles occurred on the west bank of the Dnepr in the Kievan

¹¹¹ Ipat., cols. 210-3; Lav., cols. 219-22.

domain. The territories of the Vsevolodovichi evidently escaped unscathed. Just the same, the chronicler attempts to exonerate Svyatopolk from guilt by moralizing over the losses: he explains that God allowed the Christians of Rus' to suffer these atrocities at the hands of the Polovtsy in retribution for their sins.

Despite the chronicler's attempts to whitewash Svyatopolk's misdeed, his reputation was tarnished. The author reported that Svyatopolk's defeat near Kiev occurred on the eve of the Feast of SS. Boris and Gleb. If at all possible, a scribe attempted to illustrate that his princely patron enjoyed the blessing of the first native saints of Rus'. Therefore, the information that Svyatopolk was defeated on the eve of their feast-day boded ill for the prince. There can be little doubt that before the battle the prince had recourse to the two saints for help. Since they failed to protect him it was unnecessary for the scribe to report what was obvious to all the Christians of Rus': Svyatopolk was in the martyrs' disfavour.

Even though their lands were not attacked, the Vsevolodovichi suffered great losses in manpower and in the death of Rostislav. His loss had similar consequences for their family as, seven years earlier, the death of Yaropolk had had for the Izyaslavichi. Monomakh lost the services of his brother's *druzhina*; but even more important, Rostislav had ruled Pereyaslavl'. Monomakh was confronted with a serious dilemma. Should he abandon Chernigov which was politically more important than Pereyaslavl'? Its more northerly location made it safer from Polovtsian attacks and its resources made it the most prosperous town on the left bank. Or, should he personally assume control of his patrimony just as Svyatopolk had done after the death of his elder brother Yaropolk when he moved to Turov.

Ultimately, the matter would be resolved by Svyatopolk since final authority rested with him. He could either permit Monomakh to rule both Chernigov and Pereyaslavl' or he could follow the example of Monomakh's father. After Svyatopolk's brother was murdered, Vsevolod distributed the vacant domains of Vladimir and Smolensk to a debarred prince and to a Svyatoslavich. If Svyatopolk followed a similar course of action Monomakh's territorial losses would be serious. As we shall see, for much of Svyatopolk's reign territorial allocations and the Polovtsy would be his greatest concerns. For the first half of it, Oleg would be at the centre of both issues.

G. OLEG CAPTURES CHERNIGOV

In the early summer of 1094 Oleg attacked Vladimir Monomakh in Chernigov. The PVL gives the following account.

In that year, Oleg came with the Polovtsy from Tmutarakan' and besieged Chernigov. When Vladimir shut himself in the town Oleg set fire to its environs including the monasteries. Then Vladimir made peace with Oleg; he departed from the town for the throne of his father in Pereyaslavl' and Oleg occupied the town of his father. After that the Polovtsy began pillaging around Chernigov and Oleg did not prevent them; instead, he himself ordered them to wage war. This was already the third occasion on which Oleg brought the pagans to the land of Rus'. May God forgive his sin because he caused many Christians to perish and others to be taken captive and dispersed throughout foreign lands.¹¹²

In his "Instruction," Monomakh gives us his own version of the attack including new information. He writes:

Oleg came against me with the Polovtsian land to Chernigov, and my *druzhina* fought with him for eight days by the small earthen wall and would not allow him into the palisade.¹¹³ Then I had pity on the Christian souls and on the burning villages and monasteries and said, "Let us not give the pagans cause to boast." Therefore, I gave my brother his father's domain while I myself went to the domain of my father in Pereyaslavl'. We departed from Chernigov on the Feast of St. Boris [24 July] and with my *druzhina* of less than one hundred, including the women and children, rode through bands of Polovtsy. They licked their lips like wolves as they watched us pass wishing to attack us at fords and on hills. However, God and St. Boris did not deliver me to them as prey, and we arrived in Pereyaslavl' unharmed.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ipat., cols. 216-7; Lav., col. 226.

¹¹³ The area under attack was evidently the outer-most suburb of the town with a light defensive wall constituting palisades, earthen walls, and ditches (Mezentshev, *Drevniy Chernigov*, pp. 90-3, 106-10).

¹¹⁴ Lav., col. 249; cf. PC p. 213.

From this evidence we see that Oleg took advantage of the havoc created in Rus' by the Polovtsy in 1093¹¹⁵ and the death of Monomakh's brother Rostislav to renew his struggle for Chernigov. The PVL gives us little information concerning the composition of his army. To judge from the account, his forces were made up solely of his personal *druzhina* and "the Polovtsian land." The presence of the Polovtsy is understandable since, like his campaign in 1078, he had nowhere else to turn for support except to the neighbouring tribes.

Oleg's intention was to reclaim his patrimony rather than go to war with Monomakh. He evidently bore no animosity towards his cousin for his presence in Chernigov since his appointment was authorized by the prince of Kiev. All the same, it should be noted that Oleg was selective in his hostility to the princes of Kiev. On the two occasions when he attacked Chernigov, in 1078 and 1094, the princes of Kiev were Izyaslav and his son Svyatopolk. Thus, by attacking Chernigov, Oleg was indirectly challenging their authority.

It is important to remember that Vsevolod, as prince of Kiev, had also appointed Monomakh to Chernigov, but Oleg refrained from attacking him. This is additional support for our contention that Oleg formed a pact with Vsevolod according to which he promised to cede Chernigov to his uncle during his reign in Kiev. Indeed, in 1094, had Oleg's war been personal in nature and had he wished to avenge himself against Monomakh, a logical tactic might have been to pillage his cousin's patrimony of Pereyaslavl'. This course of action was all the more tempting after its prince, Rostislav, drowned and the town was left defenceless.

The observation that Oleg bore no personal animosity towards Monomakh is further attested to by the information that, after the two concluded peace, Oleg demanded no retribution. He also assured Monomakh safe passage to Pereyaslavl'. This, in any case, is implied by the chronicler's claim that Oleg ordered the Polovtsy to attack the environs of Chernigov on the one hand, and on the other by Monomakh's report that they only licked their lips when they watched him from a distance but let his small retinue ride by unharmed. The self-restraint of the bellicose Polovtsy can be explained most easily by the fact that Oleg explicitly commanded

¹¹⁵ Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii*, p. 126; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 85.

them to let his cousin pass in peace. A party of a hundred people, including women, children, and valuable possessions, of itself, would hardly have deterred a band of horsemen bent on plunder.¹¹⁶

Monomakh, for his part, may have conducted only a half-hearted defense of the town. Oleg's persistence convinced him of his cousin's determination. Just the same, Monomakh's unconditional surrender, although demanded by Oleg, was unexpected. A number of explanations can be offered for his decision. He was probably caught unprepared for the attack and had insufficient troops on hand to defend the town against a prolonged siege. Given his military losses at Tropol' in the previous year Monomakh may also have lacked auxiliary forces to summon to his aid. Moreover, he encountered passive and perhaps even open resistance from the Chernigovans who, in the past, demonstrated their support for the Svyatoslavichi against the Vsevolodovichi.¹¹⁷

Finally, Monomakh realized Oleg's primary objective was to capture Chernigov rather than to wage war. Should Oleg fail to take the town on this occasion, he would try again. What is more, he might resort to the tactic employed by his brother Roman, in 1079, and attack Pereyasavl' in the hope of drawing out Monomakh from Chernigov. Such an attack could easily escalate into a personal conflict between the two cousins. These considerations, and Monomakh's own claim that he had pity on the Christian souls who were being massacred and driven off into captivity, persuaded him to hand back Chernigov to the Svyatoslavichi.¹¹⁸

In his "Instruction" Monomakh reports that he withdrew from Chernigov on the Feast of St. Boris. His reference is significant because of the manner in which he describes the feast-day; the chronicler calls it the Feast of SS. Boris and Gleb in the customary manner. Monomakh speaks of it as the Feast of St. Boris because by the time he wrote his "Instruction"

¹¹⁶ It has been suggested that the reference to Monomakh crossing a ford and the Polovtsy watching from hills must be to the ford on the river Desna below the Boldiniy Hills since Monomakh had to cross the river on his way to Pereyasavl' (*Povesť vremennykh let, chast' vtoraya*, pp. 447-8).

¹¹⁷ In 1078, for example, the townsmen defend Chernigov in Oleg's absence (see above, p. 149).

¹¹⁸ Although Monomakh claims he capitulated for high-minded motives, his humiliating withdrawal from the town shows, more convincingly, that he succumbed to naked force (Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," p. 96).

around 1117 he had designated St. Boris the patron of his family.¹¹⁹ Therefore, when reminiscing over his loss of face and defeat at Oleg's hands, he attempted to justify his humiliation by explaining that he withdrew not only out of humanitarian motives to save innocent Christians, but on the feast-day of his family patron and with his protection.¹²⁰ If St. Boris neglected to help Monomakh defend Chernigov he could still argue, unlike Svyatopolk whose troops were massacred by the Polovtsy in the previous year, that the saint spared him from a similar fate: St. Boris protected his retinue from the enemy so that they could merely watch it and lick their lips like wolves in futile expectation of prey.

Monomakh's attempt was shrewd but unsuccessful. As noted before, if a prince suffered a defeat on the feast-day of the two brothers the faithful interpreted the disaster as a sign of the martyrs' displeasure. This is what happened to Svyatopolk who was defeated on the eve of the feast. In the light of this tradition, in 1094 the prince on whom the martyrs bestowed their blessing was Oleg: he drove out Monomakh from Chernigov and occupied it on 24 July. In the eyes of the people, Oleg won through the intervention of the *strastoterpsy* and this signified that in the eyes of God it was he who had the just claim. Understandably, neither Monomakh nor the anti-Svyatoslavichi chronicler could afford to report this obvious interpretation which placed Monomakh in a bad light.

Oleg received support from neither of his brothers. David was ruling in Novgorod. Since his appointment there was dependent on the approval of the prince of Kiev, it is unlikely that he would march south to help his brother against Monomakh, Svyatopolk's ally. Svyatopolk could use David's action as an excuse to remove him from Novgorod. Besides, David was a pacifist at heart and had shunned helping Oleg in the past.

As for Yaroslav, the PVL has still to inform us of his existence. We may assume, however, that by 1094 he had ended his sojourn in Saxony after being summoned to Rus' by Oleg. There is no way of knowing if

¹¹⁹ His uncle Svyatoslav of Chernigov had already adopted St. Gleb for his family (Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 351-2, 361-7).

¹²⁰ According to one view, Monomakh chose the feast day for his departure to symbolize his brotherly love (D. S. Likhachev, *Velikoe nasledie*, second edition [M., 1979], p. 152). However, it is unlikely that Monomakh, the vanquished, dictated the terms of his departure. Besides, it was Oleg who chose the date for the attack on Chernigov.

Oleg gave him a domain. If he did, it was some other town than Murom because, as we shall see, in 1095 Murom was ruled by Oleg's *posadnik*.¹²¹

Finally, it is noteworthy that the chronicler and Monomakh expressed different views concerning Oleg's use of the Polovtsy. The chronicler, probably a monk, condemned Oleg for this practice under the year 1078 when he attacked Vsevolod in Chernigov. In 1094 the scribe castigated Oleg once again for his "sin," that is, for bringing the Polovtsy to slaughter the Christians of Rus' and lead them off into bondage. The author complained that this was already the third occasion on which Oleg brought the Polovtsy against Rus'.¹²²

The monk's most damning accusation was that Oleg himself instructed the Polovtsy to set fire to the environs of Chernigov, including the monasteries. This statement cannot be taken at face value. An examination of Oleg's offensive campaigns before that date reveals a consistent policy: he campaigned against an enemy only in retaliation. He never indulged in wanton destruction or initiated vindictive assaults on innocent victims.¹²³ In 1094 he even refrained from attacking Monomakh's patrimony of Pereyaslavl' even though he had the opportunity and cause to do so. Therefore, given Oleg's conscientious effort to avoid provoking wars, it is improbable that he instructed the Polovtsy indiscriminately to slaughter Christians, and what is more, those living in his own patrimony.

¹²¹ We are not told when Oleg recaptured Murom from the Volga Bulgars, whether as prince of Tmutarakan' or after he seized Chernigov. A number of historians suggest it occurred after 1094 (see, for example, Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii drevney Rusi," p. 24; cf. Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 90). In either case, he undoubtedly summoned the Polovtsy to help him.

¹²² The chronicler fails to record the occasion of Oleg's second "sin." It is unlikely that he had in mind the Polovtsian attacks on the Kievan lands in the previous year when Rostislav drowned. To be sure, the chronicler reports the Polovtsy came to Svyatopolk proposing peace and the prince foolishly evoked their wrath by imprisoning their envoys. The second occasion must have been in 1079 when Roman marched against Pereyaslavl'. Since Oleg had fled to Tmutarakan' not long before Roman's attack, we may assume he deployed his younger brother against Vsevolod (see above, p. 155).

¹²³ In 1078 he attacked Vsevolod because his uncle refused to give him Chernigov; the following year, he sent Roman against Vsevolod for the same reason; in 1083 he butchered the Khazars for plotting his death; in 1094 he attacked Monomakh in order to win back his patrimony. As we shall see, later, he refused to take part in offensive campaigns against the Polovtsy and participated only in punitive ones against tribes which had pillaged Rus'.

If Oleg commanded the Polovtsy to attack the surrounding regions of Chernigov, as the scribe claims he did, there had to be good reason. The objects of attack had probably become nests of opposition to his authority during Monomakh's reign: the lands and monasteries pillaged were those controlled by Monomakh's supporters. Besides, since Monomakh was still in Chernigov Oleg used the Polovtsy in this manner to coerce his cousin into capitulating more quickly. Thus, keeping in mind the chronicler's religious inclinations in addition to the likelihood that he enjoyed Monomakh's patronage, there is good reason to suspect that he misrepresented the part Oleg played in the deaths of Christians.¹²⁴

Monomakh gives us a more objective view of a prince's relations with the Polovtsy. He himself admits using them as allies in his battles against other princes. For example, in the "Instruction" he reports that, around 1077 (i.e., even before Oleg brought them to Rus' the first time) he conscripted the Polovtsy to help him fight the prince of Polotsk.¹²⁵ One of the reasons Monomakh gives for withdrawing from Chernigov is also of interest. He abdicated because the Polovtsy were using his presence there as an excuse for plundering the environs of Chernigov. He was determined to deny them any further cause for boasting of the atrocities they committed against Christians. Significantly, he never condemned Oleg for bringing the Polovtsy. Therewith, like all the princes of his day, Monomakh tacitly admitted that using the Polovtsy was accepted practice. Had he been in Oleg's predicament, he would have done the same. Oleg was not an exception as the chronicler would have us believe.

In 1094, on the Feast of SS. Boris and Gleb, Oleg finally gained possession of the throne of his father. It had taken him some eighteen years to win back from his uncles and cousins his rightful inheritance.

¹²⁴ It has been suggested that Oleg allowed the Polovtsy to pillage because he became angry at the people for refusing to support him against the prince of Kiev as they had done in 1078 (Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 278). Chronicle evidence does not confirm this.

¹²⁵ Lav., col. 247; PC pp. 211-2.

H. OLEG AT ODDS WITH HIS COUSINS

On 24 February 1095, the first Sunday of Lent and eight months after he returned to Pereyaslavl', Monomakh ordered his men to kill the Polovtsian chieftain Itlar' with whom he had recently formed a pact.¹²⁶ The chronicler continues his account as follows.

Svyatopolk and Vladimir sent a message to Oleg instructing him to march with them against the Polovtsy. He agreed but refused to join them, instead, he campaigned by himself. Svyatopolk and Vladimir found the [Polovtsian] camps; they captured cattle, horses, camels, and slaves and took them back to their domains. The princes were angry with Oleg because he refused to join them against the pagans so they sent him the following message: "First you refused to ride with us against the pagans who bring ruin to the land of Rus' and now you are harbouring Itlar's son at your court. Either kill him or hand him over to us; he is our enemy and an enemy of the land of Rus'." Oleg refused and hatred arose among the princes.¹²⁷

The news that Svyatopolk and Vladimir summoned Oleg to join them against the Polovtsy is important. It reveals that they turned to him as the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi and as their equal. Moreover, it demonstrates that they conceded control of Chernigov to him. They issued their invitation eight months after Oleg occupied his patrimony. If Vladimir intended to challenge Oleg he would have done so soon after Oleg had driven him out.

However, Oleg was expected to pay a price for having been reinstated in Rus'. His cousins demanded that he join them in a campaign against the Polovtsy whom they considered to be the common enemy. The Polovtsy were creating havoc in the lands of Kiev and Pereyaslavl'. Oleg refused to co-operate for unexplained reasons. All the same, a number of these can be suggested. He could justly argue that his cousins had provoked the Polovtsy to such conduct. The tribesmen initially approached Svyatopolk with offers of peace, but he foolishly advocated war. As for Monomakh, he treacherously murdered Itlar' and his retinue while they were his guests in Pereyaslavl'.

¹²⁶ Ipat., cols. 217-9; cf. Lav., cols. 227-8.

¹²⁷ Ipat., col. 219; Lav., cols. 228-9.

Second, after killing the chieftain, Monomakh and Svyatopolk set out into the steppe to attack his unwary tribesmen. The view that the object of their attack was Itlar's tribe is supported by information that Oleg not only refused to join his cousins against these tribesmen but also gave sanctuary to Itlar's son.¹²⁸ Unlike Monomakh who had betrayed Itlar' after forming a pact with him, Oleg remained loyal to his ally and protected Itlar's son from the perfidy of his cousins.

Third, the chronicler reports that Oleg went on the campaign, but separately. One reason for his decision, as we have just noted, was to avoid attacking tribesmen who were his allies. However, there was undoubtedly a second and more personal reason: he mistrusted his cousins. Monomakh had made no attempt to attack Oleg in Chernigov, but could he resist the temptation to betray Oleg if the opportunity presented itself on the field of battle? We have seen that a number of princes met "convenient" deaths under similar circumstances. Oleg himself could point to two brothers, Gleb and Roman. His concern was all the more justified after discovering how Vladimir betrayed Itlar' who came to Pereyaslav' in good faith. Not surprisingly, Oleg was wary of his cousins and, in refusing to join them, he antagonized them anew. Having recently settled the question of Chernigov, the three senior princes were thrown into a new controversy over their conflicting policies towards the Polovtsy.

Oleg's disagreement with his cousins over the Polovtsy was only one crisis they faced during that year. Another was in Novgorod. There is some uncertainty concerning the exact sequence of events since no source gives a complete account. However, an examination of the available information enables us to reconstruct the controversy in the following manner. Towards the end of the year, or at the beginning of 1096, David departed from Novgorod and went to Smolensk. The Novgorodians then went to Rostov and invited Mstislav, Monomakh's son, to be their prince. They instructed David never to return.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ In his "Instruction" Monomakh is presumably referring to the same campaign when he reports that, after Oleg drove him out of Chernigov, he marched against Itlar's people, defeated them, and captured their camps (Lav., col. 249; PC, p. 213).

¹²⁹ The possibility that the date could fall either at the end of 1095 or at the beginning of 1096 is determined by the consideration that the event occurred towards the end of the March year 6603 (s.a. 1095, Ipat., cols. 219-20; Lav., col. 229). In 1965

The chronicler offers no explanation why the Novgorodians rebelled against David's rule. Perhaps they were influenced, at least in part, by the refusal of his elder brother Oleg to co-operate with Svyatopolk. It is more likely, however, that the reason was local in nature. The Novgorodians wanted a more energetic prince. Mstislav, who governed Novgorod for five years before David arrived, was a dynamic ruler. This can be inferred from the information that, after 1096, the townsmen lived contentedly under Mstislav's rule for twenty years. There was one other important advantage for bringing Mstislav to Novgorod. By successfully procuring a prince different to the one designated by the prince of Kiev, the Novgorodians strengthened their bid for independence.¹³⁰

The loss of Novgorod was important to the Svyatoslavichi but David partially compensated for it by regaining control of Smolensk. To judge from the meagre information available, his peaceful takeover of the town shows that the inhabitants welcomed him; they evidently had been content with his rule in the past. His unchallenged return also suggests that Svyatopolk had not appointed another prince to Smolensk after sending David to Novgorod. At that time Monomakh had lost his influence over Novgorod because David, as Svyatopolk's appointee, displaced his son Mstislav. Svyatopolk had probably compensated Monomakh for his loss of Novgorod by giving him Smolensk. If this was the case then, in 1095, when David returned to Smolensk, he evicted Monomakh's *posadnik*.

Nevertheless, around that time Monomakh received compensation from an unexpected quarter. According to the PVL, "Izyaslav, the son of Vladimir [Monomakh] went from Kursk to Murom; the inhabitants of the town welcomed him and he captured Oleg's *posadnik*."¹³¹ To judge from this information Murom had no prince at that time but only Oleg's official. In this way, the Svyatoslavichi lost control of the eastern-most portion of their patrimony to Monomakh's second son. Izyaslav seized Murom in

a seal was found in Novgorod with the image of King David on one side and the traces of a Slavic inscription on the other. It has been suggested that the seal belonged to David Svyatoslavich (Yarin, *Aktovye pečati*, p. 71). David's reappointment to Smolensk has been used as proof that at this time the town was not yet a hereditary domain of the Vsevolodovichi (Yarin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," pp. 115-6).

¹³⁰ See also Yarín, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, p. 58.

¹³¹ Ipat., col. 220; Lav., col. 229.

preference to ruling Kursk where his father had evidently appointed him.¹³²

This seemingly unexpected attack on Oleg's town is perplexing indeed; it occurred in the most distant quarter of his patrimony and was perpetrated by a princeling whose existence is reported for the first time on this occasion. Was Izyaslav simply a maverick prince in search of a better domain? Did Monomakh instruct his son to seize Murom after he lost control of Smolensk? Or did Oleg bring pressure to bear on Izyaslav in the hope of evicting him from Kursk?

There can be no doubt that, having won back Chernigov, Oleg began asserting his control over his father's entire patrimony, including Kursk. His sabre-rattling tactics may have spurred on Izyaslav to follow a violent course of action. It appears, however, that Izyaslav seized Oleg's town without his father's knowledge. Monomakh himself claims that his son followed the imprudent council of his boyars who were motivated by gain.¹³³

L A YEAR OF CONFLICTS (1096)

The year 1096 was fraught with strife for Oleg; he became involved in two disastrous military operations. The first was a defensive war in southern Rus' against Svyatopolk, the prince of Kiev, and Vladimir Monomakh. In the early spring, the two cousins brought their strained relationship with Oleg to a head by issuing an ultimatum. The PVL reports the conflict in the following manner:

Svyatopolk and Vladimir sent a message to Oleg demanding, "Come to Kiev and, in the presence of bishops, abbots, our fathers' counsellors, and the townspeople, form an agreement (*ryad*) with us concerning the land of Rus' so that we can

¹³² Evidently, in 1094, when Oleg drove out Monomakh from Chernigov, Izyaslav retained control of Kursk even though it now fell under Oleg's jurisdiction (see above, p. 140). It has been suggested that Monomakh tried to evict Oleg from Chernigov by ordering his son who was in Kursk to attack Murom (Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 95). There is no chronicle evidence for this view.

¹³³ See Monomakh's letter to Oleg (Lav., col. 254; Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh*, pp. 158-60).

defend it against the pagans." But, Oleg adopted a hostile attitude and replied arrogantly in the following manner: "It is unfitting for me to be judged by bishops, abbots and serfs (*smertdom*)." And he refused to parley with his brothers because he listened to evil counsellors. Then Svyatopolk and Vladimir replied, "Since you refuse either to campaign with us against the pagans or to take counsel, you must be conspiring with the pagans. Therefore, let God judge between us." Svyatopolk and Vladimir marched against Oleg. On Saturday 3 May he fled from Chernigov and they pursued him to Starodub where he fortified himself. They besieged the town but the inhabitants defended themselves bravely. The princes pressed their attack and, as the battle raged, many were wounded on both sides. The siege lasted thirty three days until the townspeople finally capitulated from exhaustion and Oleg sued for peace. His cousins agreed to lift the siege but demanded, "Go, fetch your brother David and come with him to Kiev, to the throne of our fathers and forefathers. Kiev is the oldest town in our land and it is fitting for us to meet there to conclude an agreement (*por-yad*)." Oleg promised to do as they demanded and confirmed his pledge by kissing the Holy Cross.¹³⁴

The conflict in the spring of 1096 was the outcome of Oleg's refusal to march with his cousins in the previous year against Itlar's tribe. They summoned him to Kiev to conclude an agreement, but the princes differed in opinion as to just how it would be reached and what it would entail.

Svyatopolk and Vladimir expressed concern over Oleg's refusal to join them on campaigns against the Polovtsy and to adopt a common policy towards the enemy. They believed that by presenting a united front against the tribesmen whom they declared to be the arch-enemies of Rus' they could ensure the safety of their domains. Since Kiev, Pereyaslavl', and Chernigov were most frequently subject to Polovtsian forays, it was imperative for the princes ruling these towns to unite against the marauders.¹³⁵ If they remained at loggerheads with each other the enemy could

¹³⁴ Ipat., cols. 220-1; Lav., cols. 229-30.

¹³⁵ It has been suggested that Svyatopolk and Monomakh wished to form a triumvirate with Oleg in imitation of the one that existed during Izyaslav's rule in Kiev (Lind, "The 'Brotherhood' of Rus'," p. 74).

take advantage of princely rivalries to invade Rus'. Therefore, Oleg's cousins were adamant that he renounce his independent pacts with the tribes of the steppe. Oleg was just as reticent to repudiate his friendship with the Polovtsy because many of them were his friends and, indeed, his true allies.

Ironically, the claims of both camps seemed to be dramatically illustrated in 1096 when they were at war. Oleg chose to flee from Chernigov, the most powerful town in his domain, rather than defend it. The reason for his action is unexplained. However, it is unlikely that he hoped to ward off a prolonged siege of Starodub, a small provincial town located some hundred miles northeast of Chernigov.¹³⁶ Realizing that the forces of his cousins were too powerful for him under any circumstance, he probably fled in the hope that they would abandon their campaign or, at worst, having pursued him to Starodub, that they could be discouraged from mounting a prolonged siege of the town.

There is no way of ascertaining whether Oleg called the Polovtsy or if they, hearing of the internecine strife in Rus', attacked on their own initiative. If Oleg did instruct the tribesmen to raid the domains of his cousins he did so in the hope that Svyatopolk and Monomakh would lift their siege of Starodub and ride to the defense of their lands. The important point to note is that during the month of May while Oleg was under attack the Polovtsy did invade the lands of Kiev and Pereyaslavl'.¹³⁷

Each side could then claim that the Polovtsian incursions proved its point. On the one hand, Svyatopolk and Monomakh could argue that the tribesmen invaded the lands of Rus' because the princes were warring with each other; they would not have attacked had the princes been unified. On the other hand, Oleg could argue that the Polovtsy, his only allies, came to his aid by pillaging the domains of his attackers.

Unfortunately for Oleg the Polovtsian intervention was to no avail. Even though the domains of both princes were under attack, they refused

¹³⁶ Semenov, vol. 4 (1868), p. 744.

¹³⁷ Around 24 May Bonyak and his band pillaged the environs of Kiev; meanwhile, a certain Kurya attacked Pereyaslavl'. On 31 May, Svyatopolk's father-in-law Tugorkan attacked Pereyaslavl' and was not defeated by Svyatopolk and Vladimir until 19 July, that is, after they made a pact with Oleg. The following day, Bonyak attacked the territory of Kiev a second time (Ipat., cols. 221-3; Lav., cols. 231-4; Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 89).

to budge from Starodub until he capitulated. They considered it more important for the safety of Rus' to force him to adopt their policy than it was to lift the siege and ride to the defense of their domains. By leaving Oleg without obtaining his commitment Rus' would be exposed to the incursions of the Polovtsy for the indefinite future. If he summoned them on this occasion he could continue to do so each time his cousins attacked him. If it was not he who summoned the chieftains, they themselves demonstrated that they were prepared to take advantage of any inter-princely strife to attack Rus'. In the end the persistence of the two princes was rewarded. Oleg capitulated at Starodub towards the middle of June. After "arrogantly" refusing to negotiate a settlement with his cousins in Kiev he was coerced into submission.

As has been noted, one explanation why Oleg refused to go to Kiev was because he disagreed with his cousins' policy towards the Polovtsy. In addition, he probably had a second and perhaps more important reason. He believed that the two princes had ulterior motives for inviting him and he trusted neither them nor the Kievans. Indeed, Oleg's response suggests he doubted that the main reason for the summons was for the three princes to formulate a common policy.

His pronouncement that it was not fitting for him to be judged by bishops, abbots, and serfs (*smerda*)¹³⁸ shows he believed all the people of Rus' would gather in a general assembly in Kiev and, assuming the function of a tribunal of public opinion, as it were, pass judgement on him for his "collusion" with the enemy. Having been authorized by the land of Rus', Oleg's peers would then execute his sentence.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ In this case the term *smerd* refers to the townspeople and is evidently used by Oleg in a derogatory manner (Cherepnin, "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniya," p. 203).

¹³⁹ There is no chronicle information to show that a tribunal of this nature was called in the past. However, there is evidence that the practice existed and that it was used at least up to the thirteenth century. Under the year 1211 Vsevolod Yur'evich *Bol'shoe Gnezdo*, in anticipation of his death, issued his last will and testament. When his eldest son Konstantin, the designated successor, refused to move from Rostov to the capital Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, Vsevolod "summoned all his boyars from the towns and districts, Bishop Ioan, abbots and priests, merchants and courtiers, and all the people; he bequeathed [the town] Vladimir to [his younger son] Yury, and he made all those present swear an oath of allegiance to Yury by kissing the Holy Cross; he also entrusted all his other sons into Yury's care" (s.a. 1211, Mosk. p. 108). Thus, backed by the "authority" of all people of the

Oleg's chances of obtaining a fair hearing in Kiev were poor. The inhabitants of the Kievan lands were unfavourably disposed towards him because their homes suffered the greatest devastation at the hands of the Polovtsy. The bishops and abbots, like the monk-chronicler, were for the most part under the sway of Svyatopolk and Monomakh; they would inevitably condemn his "sin" against the Christians of Rus'. What is more, Kiev was Svyatopolk's town. The only guarantee of safety for Oleg while he was in it was Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's promise of safe conduct. Such a promise carried little if any credibility for Oleg after the two princes broke a similar pledge to Prince Itlar' whom they murdered while he was their guest. And, as has been noted, Oleg feared that Svyatopolk may wish to punish him for the part he played in bringing about the death of his father Izyaslav.¹⁴⁰

Surprisingly, it is possible to detect a rare trace of sympathy for Oleg's position on the part of the chronicler. Rather than condemning Oleg outright for his refusal to come to Kiev, the scribe places the blame on the shoulders of his evil counsellors who advised him to act in this manner.

Insofar as we can judge from the little information that is available, neither side believed that concluding an agreement required making a ruling on the allocation of domains. Since Oleg's cousins summoned him to join them on campaigns and deliberate with them in council, they clearly acknowledged his seniority among the Svyatoslavichi and his rule in Chernigov. They treated him as an equal.

That status changed drastically after he fled from Chernigov and was defeated at Starodub. Oleg evidently lost Chernigov to Monomakh who intended to return it only after Oleg went to Kiev and settled his differences with his cousins. Monomakh's tactic was to deny Oleg his domain and therewith coerce him into agreeing to their terms. Indeed, by the

land, Vsevolod changed the customary order of succession.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Tver., col. 183, which says Oleg refused to go to his cousins because he was afraid. His fear may have been justified for, in the following year, Svyatopolk ordered Prince Vasil'ko to be blinded even though he was Svyatopolk's guest in Kiev. A number of historians believe that Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's invitation to Oleg was a ruse to bring him into Kiev and throw him into the dungeon (e.g., Eremín, 'Povest vremennykh let', pp. 16-7; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 86; and others).

middle of June Oleg was deprived of all his domains including Chernigov, Murom, and Tmutarakan'. It appeared to Svyatopolk and Monomakh that they had finally brought Oleg to heel.

The chronicle fails to state whether, in negotiating their settlement, the princes intended to broach the question of the Svyatoslavichi right of succession to Kiev. An examination of the sources suggests that they did not. After Oleg's capitulation at Starodub the two cousins demanded that he and David come to Kiev, the "throne of our fathers and grandfathers." Since they acknowledged Kiev as the throne "of our fathers," this meant all three Yaroslavichi: Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod. Therewith, Svyatopolk and Vladimir confirmed the full right of succession for the Svyatoslavichi. Concomitantly, they also admitted that Svyatoslav's sons had the right to rule his patrimony. Thus, in 1096 it appears that Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's expressed concern was genuine: they hoped to form a pact with Oleg to stem the tide of Polovtsian incursions while respecting Oleg's rights and those of his family.

Their behaviour after Oleg sued for peace at Starodub was also proof that the princes were sincerely interested in reaching a settlement with him. They had him at their mercy, but the cousins refrained from taking him captive or from imposing other penalties on him. Instead, Svyatopolk and Monomakh reiterated their demand that Oleg come to Kiev and negotiate the settlement.¹⁴¹

Because Oleg objected to Kiev as a suitable location for the meeting his cousins justified their choice on two grounds: it was the oldest town of Rus' and it was the only one which had been occupied by all of their fathers. Moreover, if Oleg hesitated to enter Kiev for fear of his safety, they now advised him to bring his younger brother David from Smolensk. We may assume that the youngest brother Yaroslav would also be in attendance because, as we shall see, he is reported accompanying Oleg later in the year. Since he was at Oleg's side in any case, there was no need to send him a special summons. The presence of all the Svyatoslavichi would change the tenor of the assembly: the focus of attention would no longer be solely on Oleg but on the Svyatoslavichi as a family. These conditions

¹⁴¹ In a letter Monomakh wrote to Oleg later in 1096, he reaffirmed his goodwill and friendship: "I am not your enemy ... and I did not wish to shed your blood at Starodub ... if I sinned against you it was when I drove you out of Chernigov because of your friendship with the heathens, but in this I admit my guilt" (Lav., col. 254; cf. PC, pp. 217-8; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 176).

were evidently agreeable to Oleg and he promised to fetch his brother from Smolensk.

Having "kissed the Holy Cross" in confirmation of his pledge Oleg left Starodub for Smolensk. However, chronicle information becomes confused at this point. We are given two apparently contradictory reports describing developments at Smolensk. According to the first, when Oleg came to the town its inhabitants refused to receive him so he went to Ryazan'.¹⁴² The second states that Oleg was unwilling to go to the ceremony (*poryad*) in Kiev; therefore, when he arrived at Smolensk he collected troops and marched against Murom.¹⁴³

The following observations can be made about the two entries. There is no doubt that both are referring to the same event and that Oleg visited Smolensk only on one occasion. However, the first account is a later interpolation and, consequently, less reliable.¹⁴⁴ It also gives wrong information in reporting that Oleg went from Smolensk to Ryazan' when, as we shall see, he went to Murom. The second entry correctly states he went to Murom. Since the second entry tells us that Oleg collected troops in Smolensk before departing, and the first one claims he was not received by the inhabitants at all, we must assume that the second entry is the credible one.¹⁴⁵

Accordingly, the correct report of Oleg's visit to Smolensk is the second one: because he was unwilling to go to the ceremony in Kiev, he marshalled new forces from his brother David,¹⁴⁶ and marched against

¹⁴² This is the first chronicle reference to Ryazan' (Ipat., col. 221; Lav., col. 231). Today, the eleventh-century town of Ryazan' is known as Staraya Ryazan' (Mon-gayt, "Staraya Ryazan'," pp. 88-98; T. N. Nikol'skaya, *Zemlya Vyatichy, K istorii naseleniya basseyna verkhney i sredney Oki v IX-XIII vv.* [M., 1981], pp. 123-5, 178-83).

¹⁴³ Ipat., col. 226; Lav., col. 236.

¹⁴⁴ It is inserted out of context into the reports of the Polovtsian attacks on southern Rus' and it is not part of the original account recording Oleg's defeat at Starodub and departure to Smolensk.

¹⁴⁵ The information that the townsmen rejected Oleg has given rise to unfounded speculation. It has been suggested that Oleg attempted to usurp power from David, but the inhabitants would not accept him (Rapov, p. 101); another view has it that at the time of Oleg's arrival, David was absent from Smolensk and visiting Toropets, therefore, the townsmen refused him entry (Tat., vol. 2, p. 106).

¹⁴⁶ Pogodin, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya*, p. 359.

Murom. This information is important for it reveals the dire straits in which Oleg believed himself to be. He committed perjury. After capitulating at Starodub he evidently never intended to present himself in Kiev even when he promised to do so by "kissing the Holy Cross." His action demonstrates he had lost all faith in his cousins and believed their policies were incompatible with his. Instead of bringing him to heel, Svyatopolk and Monomakh drove him to desperation. In Oleg's view, his loss of Chernigov placed the conflict into a completely new light. Whereas, until the siege of Starodub the point of dispute had been the princes' policy towards the Polovtsy, after Starodub his main objective was to win back his patrimony at any cost.

Oleg's second military operation constituted a series of battles in the northeast against Vladimir's sons. Towards the end of August or at the beginning of September he marched against Murom which Izyaslav had captured in the previous year. Izyaslav prepared himself for the battle by requisitioning troops from his father's towns of Rostov, Suzdal', and Beloozero.¹⁴⁷ Even so, Oleg gave Izyaslav the opportunity to withdraw in peace. The PVL states,

Before attacking Oleg told Izyaslav, "Go to Rostov, your father's district, because Murom is my father's district. I wish to occupy it so I can negotiate a settlement with your father for he has driven me from my father's town [Chernigov]. Do you wish to deny me my very livelihood?"¹⁴⁸

Izyaslav, we are told, placed great confidence in the large army at his command and ignored the ultimatum. Oleg, believing that right was on his side, placed his hope in the justice of his claim and attacked. The two sides clashed on 6 September and Izyaslav was killed in the ensuing battle. His soldiers fled, some to the forests and others to the town. Oleg seized Murom and took many men of the Rostov land captive. Having therewith significantly diminished the manpower resources of the Volga district he set off to capture Suzdal', Rostov, and Beloozero, and each town surrendered in turn. In this way he asserted his control not only over his father's

¹⁴⁷ Kuchkin noted that after Svyatoslav's death in 1076, the territories he had controlled in the Rostov lands (viz. Beloozero, Yaroslavl', Povolzh'e) reverted to Vsevolod so that Monomakh now controlled the entire Rostov region (Kuchkin, "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," p. 70).

¹⁴⁸ Ipat., cols. 226-7; Lav., cols. 236-7.

district of Murom, but also over Monomakh's district. He appointed *posadniki* to the towns and began collecting tribute from the district.¹⁴⁹

Prince Mstislav of Novgorod, Monomakh's eldest son and Oleg's godson¹⁵⁰ who had ruled Rostov before moving to Novgorod, was informed of these developments and sent a messenger to Oleg with the following instruction:

"Return to Murom, do not sit in another prince's district. I will send my *druzhina* to my father and ask him to be reconciled with you. As for my brother, do not hold yourself responsible for his death; in war emperors as well as ordinary soldiers die."¹⁵¹

Oleg also wanted to capture Novgorod, we are told, so he ignored Mstislav's counsel. Instead, he dispatched his younger brother Yaroslav, who is mentioned for the first time, to stand guard at the river Medveditsa on the route from Rostov to Novgorod, while Oleg himself remained near Rostov.¹⁵²

Realizing that Oleg had no intention of withdrawing from his father's territory, Mstislav took counsel with the Novgorodians and sent an advance party to confront Oleg's tax collectors. When Yaroslav was informed that the Novgorodians were rounding up Oleg's officials he rode to his brother and warned him of Mstislav's advance. Oleg withdrew to Rostov, but when Mstislav came to the Volga and learnt that his godfather was in the town, he marched against him. The Svyatoslavichi therefore retreated south to Suzdal'. On being told that Mstislav was still following them, Oleg ordered his soldiers to set fire to the town and, withdrawing from Monomakh's district altogether, went to Murom. After Mstislav regained possession of all his father's towns he believed his mission was accomplished and proposed peace to Oleg. He said,

"I address you as your junior. Negotiate a settlement with my

¹⁴⁹ Ipat., col. 227; Lav., col. 237.

¹⁵⁰ Karamzin suggested that Izyaslav was also Oleg's godson and that Izyaslav married in Rostov or in Murom shortly before his death (Karamzin, *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskago*, pp. 66-7, fn. 177; Likhachev, *Velikoe nasledie*, p. 143).

¹⁵¹ Ipat., cols. 227-8; Lav., cols. 237-8.

¹⁵² Ipat., col. 228; Lav., col. 238.

father and set free the members of his *druzhina* whom you have taken captive; then I will do as you instruct me."

The chronicler observed that Oleg deceitfully offered to conclude peace with his godson; Mstislav, believing the lie, dispersed his troops.¹⁵³

As Mstislav sat down to dinner on Saturday of the week of St. Feodor, the first week in Lent (i.e., February, 1097), he received startling news. Oleg had arrived on the river Klyaz'ma unobserved and taken up position. By arriving unawares, Oleg hoped to unnerve Mstislav and force him to flee. He misjudged the metal of his godson. Mstislav's *druzhina* rallied quickly to his summons and regrouped near Suzdal'. All the same, neither prince attacked and the two sides stood facing each other four days. Meanwhile, Mstislav received word that his father had dispatched his younger brother Vyacheslav with Polovtsian reinforcements to his aid.¹⁵⁴

Vyacheslav arrived on Thursday of the second week in Lent; the following morning Oleg attacked. The two sides clashed near the river Koloksha where Oleg engaged Mstislav in battle and Yaroslav fought with Vyacheslav. Eventually, Mstislav won the day by means of a ruse. He raised Monomakh's banner falsely signifying the presence of his father's troops; on seeing the signal Oleg took fright and fled.¹⁵⁵

He stopped at Murom where he placed Yaroslav in command and then moved on to Ryazan'. Mstislav followed the fugitives to Murom and, after Yaroslav capitulated, concluded peace with the inhabitants. He also freed all the men of Rostov and Suzdal' who were being held captive. Then he rode in pursuit of Oleg to Ryazan'. Since his godfather had fled Mstislav concluded peace with the inhabitants of Ryazan' as well. Finally, he sent a missive to Oleg who evidently found refuge with his brother David in Smolensk.¹⁵⁶ He wrote, "Flee no more, but send a petition to your brothers [i.e., cousins Svyatopolk and Vladimir] not to deprive you of the land of Rus'. I will also write to my father on your behalf." Oleg

¹⁵³ Ipat., cols. 228-9; Lav., col. 238.

¹⁵⁴ Concerning the first week of Lent see E. I. Kamentseva, *Khronologiya*, (M., 1967), Table 1.

¹⁵⁵ M. G. Rabinovich, "Drevnerusskie znamena (X-XV vv.) po izobrazheniyam na miniatyurakh," *Novoe v arkheologii*, ed. V. L. Yanin (M., 1972), p. 172.

¹⁵⁶ Tver., col. 184 reports Oleg fled to Smolensk.

agreed to do his godson's bidding.¹⁵⁷ Whereas Oleg's submission signalled the nadir of his career, Mstislav's victory would be heralded by later compilers as the crowning military achievement of his life.¹⁵⁸

Oleg's strategy for regaining his patrimony can be discerned with the advantage of hindsight. He refused to go to Kiev to conclude an agreement from a position of weakness. He was determined to regain control of Chernigov. However, he had no territorial base from which to launch his counter-attack so he decided his first task was to recapture that portion of his patrimony which was most poorly defended, that is, Murom.

This observation is supported by Oleg's declaration to Izyaslav. He commanded Izyaslav to vacate Murom so that he could occupy it and then reach an agreement with Monomakh because the latter had driven Oleg out of his father's town. There is no mention of negotiating with the prince of Kiev which shows that Oleg was interested in settling the question of domains rather than the issue of the Polovtsy. Nevertheless, having occupied Murom, possession of that town still failed to give Oleg any negotiating advantage over his cousin. Therefore, he set out to appropriate Vladimir's district of Rostov and Novgorod. Control of these would provide him with bartering power; he could offer to give them back to Monomakh in exchange for Chernigov.

It is important to note that Oleg's seizure of Murom, his father's district, was a defensive measure and justified according to Yaroslav's "testament." The guilty party was Izyaslav who was killed in the fray. When Oleg captured the towns of the Rostov region, however, he transgressed Yaroslav's dictum by trespassing upon Vladimir's domain. Even though the inhabitants of that region helped Izyaslav capture Murom, Oleg's appropriation of their towns was unwarranted.

Vladimir and his sons conceded control of Murom to Oleg and philosophically attributed Izyaslav's death to the fortunes of war, but they rose up in arms when he captured their towns. Mstislav came to defend his father's territories and Monomakh himself sent the Polovtsy under Vyacheslav's command. It is noteworthy that Monomakh who condemned Oleg in the previous year for giving sanctuary to Itlar's son now used the Polovtsy himself. Similarly, the chronicler demonstrates that he is writing

¹⁵⁷ Ipat., cols. 229-30; Lav., cols. 238-40.

¹⁵⁸ See, for example, Nikon., s.a. 1125, p. 153.

with two sets of values. Whereas he condemned Oleg for using the Polovtsy against the princes of Rus', he levied no accusations against Monomakh for using them against Oleg. Unfortunately for the latter, the Polovtsian reinforcements added to Mstislav's leadership proved decisive. Mstislav was a better commander than his brother Izyaslav. He expelled Oleg from Monomakh's district and his own towns of Murom and Ryazan'.

Mstislav was the outstanding champion of Monomakh's interests. His military tactics were faultless and his personal conduct was irreproachable. He put Oleg to shame on both counts: the latter suffered a humiliating defeat and broke the pledge he made to Mstislav at Suzdal'. It is noteworthy, for example, that Mstislav at no time took the offensive against his adversary. He went into the field only to defend his father's possessions in the Rostov land. Thus, after driving out Oleg from Suzdal', Mstislav stopped his attack and refrained from pursuing Oleg to Murom since it was rightfully Oleg's. It was only after his godfather perjured himself and marched secretly against him that Mstislav pursued Oleg into the lands of Murom and Ryazan'.

Mstislav also shied away from military confrontations with his godfather. If the chronicler is to be believed, he always proposed a peaceful settlement before having recourse to arms. He sent messengers to Oleg on three occasions: from Novgorod, when he demanded that Oleg withdraw from Rostov and be reconciled with his father; from Suzdal', when he instructed Oleg to release the captives from Rostov and requested that Oleg be reconciled with Monomakh; from Ryazan', when he advised Oleg to plead with Svyatopolk and Vladimir not to deprive him of the land of Rus'. In each communiqué Mstislav's overriding concern was that Oleg be reconciled with his father. This, to judge from the available evidence, was a true reflection of Monomakh's policy.

After his victory at Starodub, Vladimir refrained from going into the field of battle in person. His intention, at least in part, was to prevent straining his relationship with Oleg even further. Nonetheless, he monitored Oleg's movements closely and, when necessary, intervened in the campaigns of his sons. It is doubtful that Monomakh commanded Izyaslav to seize Murom. However, he gave at least tacit support for his son's action. This is supported by the information that he evidently made no effort to remove Izyaslav from the town and by the report that before Oleg attacked Izyaslav, the latter requisitioned troops from Monomakh's towns. The citizens of Rostov would have refused to support Izyaslav had he acted contrary to his father's wishes. Consequently, he used his

son's usurpation as a further means of forcing Oleg to a reconciliation. It was only after Oleg seized the Rostov lands that Monomakh intervened directly by sending Vyacheslav and the Polovtsy to help Mstislav. His intention was not to deprive Oleg of Murom; rather, he wished to restore peace among the three families of Yaroslavichi.

Vladimir expressed these sentiments most dramatically in the letter he sent to Oleg in 1096 during the conflict in the northeast. He evidently wrote it on Mstislav's behest and commanded Vyacheslav to deliver it.¹⁵⁹ The missive was an impassioned plea to Oleg to be reconciled for the sake of princely unity in Rus'.

Monomakh seems to have made his appeal from a genuine spirit of Christian forgiveness. He laments the death of Izyaslav but instead of placing the blame on Oleg attributes it to the will of God. However, he rebukes Oleg as a friend for failing to inform him of the tragedy. In Monomakh's view, his cousin should have sent him a letter of condolence for the loss of his son. And he pleads with Oleg to send Izyaslav's bride whom he has not yet seen. Monomakh wishes to mourn with her and give her a fitting home where she can pine away like a turtle-dove on a withered tree.

Then the prince makes his main point. Had Oleg been content with recapturing Murom without seizing Rostov, and had he sent a message to Monomakh at that time, they could have been reconciled. Even now Monomakh was amenable to a settlement if Oleg would repent before God and send his courier or a bishop with a letter expressing his good intent. Monomakh would let Oleg keep the district of Murom and they could rekindle their former friendship. He insists he holds no enmity or vengeance towards Oleg. Just as he did not wish to see Oleg's blood spilt at Starodub, he hopes that Oleg will refrain from shedding blood. If Monomakh sinned against Oleg by attacking him in Chernigov over the question of the Polovtsy, he repents. And he exclaims, "If I am lying, may God and the Holy Cross be my judges."

The situation now is reversed and Monomakh's sons Mstislav and Vyacheslav are at Oleg's mercy. Although they are Monomakh's agents he reiterates his intention of wishing to inflict no harm on Oleg, instead, he seeks the good of his brothers and the land of Rus'. If Oleg is determined

¹⁵⁹ Kuchkin, "Rostovo-Suzdal'skaya zemlya," pp. 71-3.

to use violence against his sons then he must remember that Monomakh and Svyatopolk offered to give him his patrimony at Starodub. Finally, he informs Oleg that God is a witness to the fact that he and Svyatopolk have already concluded an agreement with Oleg's brother David in Smolensk. The pact, however, was useless without Oleg.¹⁶⁰

Oleg was not persuaded by Monomakh's eloquence and seeming sincerity. Although Monomakh's intentions for a rapprochement were probably genuine, the agreement was to be concluded under conditions dictated by him. Thus, he was willing to concede Murom to Oleg, but refused to relinquish control of Chernigov. Oleg, for his part, would negotiate with his "brothers" only as an equal and this meant having possession of his patrimony. As for David's agreement with the two cousins, it was almost meaningless. He willingly conceded to any agreement if it meant avoiding a conflict. Besides, Oleg was the head of the Svyatoslavichi and it was he who determined family policy. In the end, it was Monomakh's obstinacy to return Chernigov rather than his goodwill to ensure unity in the land that influenced Oleg more. Instead of sending Monomakh a bishop with a letter of agreement, Oleg attacked his sons.

Thus, despite his cousins' assurances of safety and Mstislav's entreaties to Oleg to be reconciled with his father, Oleg found it impossible to trust Svyatopolk and Vladimir on their terrain. It was only after Mstislav deprived him of everything—his domain, his troops, and evidently even his will to fight—that Oleg capitulated. He obeyed Mstislav and threw himself at the mercy of his cousins. Oleg agreed to accept their terms so long as he would be allowed to remain in the land of Rus'.

J. THE CONGRESS OF LYUBECH (1097)

In 1097 Svyatopolk and Monomakh finally achieved their objective: Oleg came to a congress (*snem*) of princes held in Lyubech. It was one of the most important events in the history of Rus'. The compact, which adhered closely to the spirit of Yaroslav's "testament," shaped princely political relations for generations to come. According to the PVL, the proceedings went in the following manner.

¹⁶⁰ Lav., cols. 252-5; Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 (M., 1962), pp. 381-2; Bagaley *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 175-6; Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh*, pp. 156-61; PC, pp. 216-8; Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," p. 107.

Svyatopolk and Vladimir, David Igorevich and Vasil'ko Rostislavich, David Svyatoslavich and his brother Oleg came and assembled at Lyubech to establish peace. They deliberated in the following manner: "Why do we continue to feud amongst ourselves and bring ruin to the land of Rus'; the Polovtsy rejoice in our wars and ravage our lands. From now on, let us be of one heart and preserve the land of Rus'. Each prince shall rule his patrimony: Svyatopolk [will rule] Kiev [and] Izyaslav's [domain]; Vladimir [will rule] Vsevolod's [domain]; David and Oleg, Yaroslav [will rule] Svyatoslav's [domain]. To others Vsevolod already allocated towns: David got Vladimir, of the Rostislavichi, Volodar' got Peremyshl' and Vasil'ko got Terebovl'." Then they all kissed the cross pledging that in the future, should any prince attack another, all of them and the entire land or Rus' would join forces against the offender under the Holy Cross. And they kissed each other and returned to their domains.¹⁶¹

The congress of Lyubech, held in October 1097,¹⁶² was convened by Svyatopolk and Vladimir some seven months after Oleg's unconditional surrender. Despite his defeat Oleg evidently remained adamant in his refusal to go to Kiev and in his unwillingness to discuss all the issues proposed by his cousins. This, at any rate, can be inferred from the long period that elapsed between his defeat and the actual meeting, and by the information that the location, attendance, and agenda of the *snem* were ultimately changed.

Presumably, because Oleg complained his cousins moved the congress from Kiev to Lyubech, a town located some fifty miles northwest of Chernigov on the east bank of the Dnepr.¹⁶³ Although it could not boast

¹⁶¹ Ipat., cols. 230-1; Lav., cols. 256-7; cf. translations in PC, pp. 187-8, and Nikonian Chronicle 1, p. 213. Concerning kissing the Holy Cross see Illustration no. 19 (from *Radziwiłłovskaya letopis'*, f. 143 rev.; Podobedova, *Miniatury russkikh istoricheskikh rukopisey*, p. 73).

¹⁶² The date is determined by the information that, on departing from the congress, Vasil'ko came to Kiev on 4 November (Ipat., col. 232; Lav., col. 258).

¹⁶³ Lyubech was located on the stream Uzhika, a tributary of the Dnepr (Miloradovich, "Lyubech," pp. 1-103; B. A. Rybakov, "Lyubech—feodal'nyy dvor Monomakha i Ol'govichy," KSDPIIA, 99 (1964), pp. 21, 23; Kuza, *Malye goroda*, pp.

the distinction of having been the throne of their fathers and forefathers as Kiev could, Lyubech nevertheless had a historical importance of its own. All the princes of Rus' could look upon it as their common patrimony since it was the birthplace of Vladimir, their great-grandfather and Christianizer of Rus'. It was the Slavic cradle of their dynasty because it was the home of Malusha, Vladimir's mother.¹⁶⁴

The provincial town had other advantages. Its proximity to the Dnepr made it easily accessible to all the participants. In addition, it was a more suitable site than Kiev for most of them because it was, temporarily at any rate, politically neutral: Lyubech fell under the jurisdiction of Chernigov, but, after Oleg's defeat at Starodub, he was rendered politically impotent. In coming to the small provincial town each prince could bring only a small retinue leaving behind in his own domain the larger part of his *druzhina*.¹⁶⁵ This was important for Oleg. It meant that no participant had a military advantage over the others as, for example, Svyatopolk would have enjoyed had the meeting been held in Kiev. For Oleg it also meant that he came directly from Smolensk, where he was probably living with David, without crossing lands belonging to other princes.

Originally, to judge from the summons sent to Oleg at the beginning of 1096, the only other princes expected to participate at the conference were Svyatopolk and Vladimir. Attendance at Lyubech was greatly expanded. The senior members of all the surviving families of the Yaroslavichi (except for Volodar' the eldest Rostislavich), and their senior counsellors, came. The bishops, abbots, and townsmen to whose presence Oleg objected, were excluded. Their absence suggests that the agenda of the assembly was also changed. Oleg was spared the public trial for his collaboration with the Polovtsy.

We are not told if Oleg insisted that princes from all the other families be summoned because their plights were like his. If he did not insist, we may assume that the debarred families which were either deprived of

79-81). Cf. Hrushevsky who wrongly claimed that the Lyubech in question was closer to Kiev on the left bank or, perhaps, on one of the islands below Kiev (*Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 90, 271-2).

¹⁶⁴ Ipat., col. 57; Lav., col. 69.

¹⁶⁵ Rybakov writes that during the course of excavations conducted at Lyubech between 1957-60 archaeologists unearthed a fortification from the eleventh century. If the congress was held inside the fortification, then it took place in the great hall which could accommodate some 100 people (*Kievskaya Rus'*, pp. 423-6).

their patrimonies or had a tenuous hold on them took the opportunity to press their claims on the prince of Kiev. We have seen that they had persistently demanded towns from Vsevolod until he gave in to their pleas. They wanted reassurance from Vsevolod's successor that he would honour those allocations. This, at any rate, is suggested by the information that the question of territories was a major topic of discussion at the *snem*. Although Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's primary concern was to secure peace in the land, they realized this could be attained only after they provided each family with a permanent territorial base.

The main complaint levied by Oleg and the debarred princes was the high-handed manner in which the most powerful families confiscated the patrimonies of the others. At first, the three eldest Yaroslavichi, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod had expropriated the domains of their brothers Vladimir, Igor', and Vyacheslav. Then, in 1073 the three princes themselves turned against each other: first, Svyatoslav and Vsevolod expelled Izyaslav from Kiev and confiscated his patrimony; later, Izyaslav and Vsevolod appropriated the domain of the Svyatoslavichi. Svyatopolk, on becoming prince of Kiev, attempted to maintain the status quo. This meant that in 1097 of the original six families of Yaroslavichi, only two had undisputed control of their original patrimonies.

Fortunately for Oleg and the other malcontents, Svyatopolk and Monomakh finally admitted that a settlement acceptable to every family must be reached on the question of domains. At Lyubech, therefore, they confirmed the allocations Yaroslav made to his three eldest surviving sons and the ones Vsevolod later made to the Igorevichi and the Rostislavichi. All present agreed that the only princes with the right of succession to a particular patrimony were the descendants of the Yaroslavich who had originally received that domain. Consequently, all the princes of Rus', but most important Svyatopolk and Vladimir, promised to abide by the spirit of Yaroslav's "testament" and honour the rights of the other families to their patrimonies.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁶ See also Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii*, p. 128; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 270; Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 112. It has been suggested that the legal codes, Yaroslav's *Russkaya Pravda* and the *Pravda Yaroslavichey*, were also revised at the congress (L. V. Cherepnin, "Povesi' vremennykh let, ee redaktsii i predshestvuyushchie ey letopisnye svody," *Istoricheskie zapiski*, vol. 25, [M., 1948], pp. 321-4, and his "Obshchestvenno-politicheskie otnosheniya," pp. 201-3).

The PVL merely makes a general reference to the domains allotted to the different branches of Yaroslavichi. We are told that Vladimir got "Vsevolozh"; David, Oleg, and Yaroslav got "Svyatoslav" [in error for "Svyatoslavl"]; Svyatopolk got "Kiev Izyaslavl".¹⁶⁷ That is, the chronicler uses the father's name to signify the patrimony the sons inherited. Accordingly, Monomakh got Pereyaslavl' (i.e., Vsevolozh'), the three Svyatoslavichi received the lands of Chernigov and Murom (i.e., Svyatoslavl'), and Svyatopolk retained Kiev and Turov (i.e., Izyaslavl').¹⁶⁸

Before analyzing the settlement that the princes imposed on the Svyatoslavichi, let us examine the allotments made to Vladimir Monomakh and the debarred princes. Monomakh retained "Vsevolozh'," namely, his father's territories of Pereyaslavl', Rostov, Suzdal', and Beloozero. In addition, he took Smolensk where Oleg's brother David had been prince up to the time of the *snem*.¹⁶⁹

The first debarred prince listed by the PVL is Igor's eldest surviving son David.¹⁷⁰ Igor' had been allotted the domain of Vladimir by his father Yaroslav. However, in 1056 he was transferred to Smolensk by the triumvirate and, after that, the town of Vladimir had a chequered history as it passed from hand to hand among the princes of the "inner circle." In 1085 Vsevolod gave it to Igor's son David.¹⁷¹ At Lyubech, the princes confirmed David's rule of Vladimir.

The Rostislavichi, Volodar' and Vasil'ko, were the only princes who failed to regain their patrimonial domain, Novgorod, which Yaroslav bequeathed to their grandfather Vladimir. Svyatopolk and Monomakh were not only unwilling to turn it over to them, they were evidently unable to do so. The Novgorodians chose Monomakh's son Mstislav to be their prince. Monomakh therefore was reticent to lose control of such an important territory. Even more important, the prince of Kiev was no longer able

¹⁶⁷ Ipat., col. 231; Lav., col. 257.

¹⁶⁸ Historians frequently interpret the two words "Kiev Izyaslavl'" to signify that Kiev was Izyaslav's patrimony (e.g., PC, p. 187; Nikonian Chronicle 1, p. 213; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 108). For an examination of Izyaslav's relationship to Kiev and Turov see Dimnik, "The Testament," pp. 375-6, 381-5.

¹⁶⁹ The family of Vyacheslav, to whom Yaroslav gave Smolensk, was extinct. We know Monomakh got the town from the information that, in 1101, he built a stone church there (Ipat., col. 250).

¹⁷⁰ He also had a son named Vsevolod (Baum., I, 34; Rapov, p. 201).

¹⁷¹ Ipat., col. 197; Lav., col. 205.

to appoint lieutenants of his choosing in the manner Yaroslav had done. The Novgorodians were increasingly more successful in appointing their own prince. They would have rebelled if a hereditary dynasty not of their choosing was imposed on them.

Therefore, in 1097 the princes of Rus' resolved that Volodar' and Vasil'ko keep the territories that Vsevolod had given them. This was an expedient course of action to take since the brothers were content with their allocations. Thus, the congress confirmed the two surviving Rostislavichi in the towns of Peremyshl' and Terebovl'.¹⁷² Earlier, these regions probably constituted the southern frontiers of Igor's patrimony of Vladimir.

Finally, let us examine how the compact of 1097 effected the fortunes of Svyatoslav's three sons. They were given "Svyatoslav" (i.e., Chernigov) as their hereditary domain. The chronicle provides no explanation how the patrimony was divided up among them. Therefore, there is much uncertainty concerning the political and territorial arrangement that was imposed on Oleg and his brothers.

Historians have traditionally argued that David received Chernigov because he was the eldest Svyatoslavich. Oleg, as the second eldest, got Novgorod-Severskiy along with Kursk and the surrounding region of the river Seym (Posem'e). Yaroslav, the youngest, was given the district of Murom and Ryazan'.¹⁷³ Tmutarakan' now disappears from the pages of the chronicles. The Greeks evidently appropriated the territory in 1094 after Oleg captured Chernigov. The princes of Rus', we may assume, formally relinquished control of the town at the congress.

How reliable is the above interpretation of the sources? Let us begin with the politically least significant brother, Yaroslav. There is no controversy concerning his allotment. The chronicles provide ample evidence to show that he was sent to Murom where he successfully established his control and sired the ruling family of the region.

¹⁷² It is noteworthy that Ryurik, the eldest Rostislavich, died in 1092 as prince of Peremyshl' (Ipat., col. 206; Lav., col. 215). Since his eldest surviving brother Volodar' succeeded him to Peremyshl', the family's capital, it is evident that the Rostislavichi and the princes at Lyubech were adhering to the ladder system of succession.

¹⁷³ See, for example, Pogodin, *Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya*, p. 385; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 177; Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 100; Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 100-1.

There is much uncertainty over the political and territorial provisions made for Oleg and David. Much of this confusion is created by the chronicle report that "David and Oleg, Yaroslav, got Svyatoslav [i.e., Chernigov]."¹⁷⁴ The order in which the brothers are listed has persuaded most historians to believe, wrongly, that David was the genealogically eldest prince of the Svyatoslavichi. As we have seen, in 1097 Oleg was the eldest surviving brother. All the same, the order of the names in the account is important. In any listing of princes, the chronicler usually presents the names in the order reflecting political seniority. Since Oleg is placed after David, this means he was demoted in rank and David became the political head of the Svyatoslavichi.¹⁷⁵

Despite their collective authority, the princes at the *snem* were unable to divest Oleg of the authority he enjoyed as the senior prince of the family. He remained David's genealogical elder and, according to Yaroslav's "testament," Oleg remained the "father" of the family. Indeed, given David's peace-loving nature, actual power on the throne of Chernigov probably remained in the hands of the more energetic Oleg. In practical terms, therefore, there would be little change in the internal rule of the principality of Chernigov. In the eyes of the princes of Rus', however, David was the official head of the family.

Svyatopolk and Monomakh exacted a heavy price from Oleg for his unwillingness to co-operate with them in their dealings with the Polovtsy. We are not told whether Oleg's descendants were affected by their legislation as well. That is, were the Ol'govichi relegated to a place below the Davidovichi in the order of political succession? Later evidence suggests this was the case.¹⁷⁶

The relationship between the brothers became that of a duumvirate. We have seen that under 1097 "David and Oleg, Yaroslav, Svyatoslav" (i.e., David and Oleg, Yaroslav inherited Svyatoslav's patrimony). Non-chron-

¹⁷⁴ Ipat. cols. 230-1; Lav., cols. 256-7.

¹⁷⁵ This was not the only example of a prince being deprived of his patrimony for a transgression. Three years later another princely council deprived Igor's son David of Vladimir, the town allocated to him at Lyubech (see below, p. 235).

¹⁷⁶ In 1123, after David's death, his eldest son Vsevolod rather than Oleg's son occupied Murom when Yaroslav moved to Chernigov (see below, pp. 304-5). This shows not only that the Ol'govichi were on a political rung below the Davidovichi, but, what was more likely the case, that they were completely removed from succession to Murom and Chernigov.

icle sources echo the PVL report: "Svyatopolk Izyaslavich got Kiev, David and Oleg got Chernigov, Vladimir got Pereyaslavl."¹⁷⁷ Since the two sources referred to "David and Oleg" in tandem, the implication is that they were given Chernigov as one. In the eyes of the scribes, the brothers were equals and expected to share authority over their father's patrimony.¹⁷⁸

Although demoted, Oleg was not relegated to Murom the least important part of Svyatoslav's patrimony. He remained in the Chernigov land. This means that Oleg remained higher in the political hierarchy than his younger brother Yaroslav. After 1097 the chronicler never refers to Oleg as being inferior to David. Whenever Svyatopolk and Monomakh negotiated with the House of Svyatoslav they addressed themselves either to David and Oleg, or just to David, or just to Oleg. Similarly, they both represented the Svyatoslavichi on campaigns against the Polovtsy, or else just the one or the other. In 1100, when Monomakh paid Igor's son David 200 ingots of silver in compensation, Oleg and David paid the same amount, as one. All this is evidence that the princes of Rus' looked upon the brothers as co-rulers.

In the light of Oleg's seniority in the family his submission to the verdict of the princes of Rus' takes on added significance: it demonstrates his willingness to accept the common will of the princes for the sake of peace. It also magnifies the penalty his peers imposed on him. Oleg was the sole heir to his father's patrimony on two counts: because he was designated to Chernigov by his father and because after the death of his elder brother Gleb he had the right to sit on the throne of his father as senior prince of the family. In the light of these considerations, Oleg's capitulation to the unfavourable judgement of the congress demonstrates that his efforts to regain Chernigov were motivated as much by a desire to obtain justice for the Svyatoslavichi as by personal gain.

¹⁷⁷ *Uspeknyy sbornik*, p. 66; "Skazanie o sv. muchenikakh Borise i Glebe," ed. Abramovich, p. 60, and "Kniga stepennaya," p. 158.

¹⁷⁸ See also Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 108-9. Oleg and David could imitate one of several examples of dual rule: the reigns of Yaroslav "the Wise" and Mstislav and later that of Svyatoslav and Vsevolod or Izyaslav and Vsevolod. The latter two combinations were the direct results of the triumvirate. It could also be argued that the collaboration between Svyatopolk and Monomakh was a form of joint rule.

Since "David and Oleg" were allotted their father's patrimony of Chernigov in 1097, this meant they both had the right to live in their father's town. Oleg already had his residence there. David left Smolensk to occupy the throne of his father vacated by Oleg. This observation is supported by the information that after 1097 and until their deaths both princes are associated with only Chernigov. We are not told that either one resided elsewhere during this period. We shall also see that both died and were buried in Chernigov.

However, neither David nor Oleg inherited the town as his patrimony. Chernigov assumed the same status for Svyatoslav's family as Kiev had for the three senior families of Yaroslavichi. Chernigov remained Svyatoslav's throne and would never become the personal patrimony of any one of his heirs. As the family capital it would be handed on from one senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi to the next.¹⁷⁹

Although the congress considerably weakened the political authority of the Svyatoslavichi, it is to their credit that Svyatopolk and Monomakh returned Chernigov to their destitute cousins at all. Given Oleg's campaigns against Monomakh, they could have imposed even harsher penalties on him. They could have relegated him to a minor provincial town (the fate that Igor's son David would suffer in the not too distant future) and deprived him of any significant role in the affairs of Rus'.¹⁸⁰

To judge from their actions, therefore, the two princes genuinely wished to restore peace among the warring families. By appointing both David and Oleg to Chernigov, the two cousins complied with Oleg's demand that they return his patrimony to him. However, in order to obviate any future insubordination from the prince of Chernigov, they officially deprived Oleg of political supremacy within his family. By naming the peace-loving David as the head of the Svyatoslavichi, they were assured of a compliant prince of Chernigov who supported their policy against the Polovtsy.

In the light of the above consideration, the terms of the agreement appear to have been equitable for the Svyatoslavichi. This was especially so given that they had little with which they could bargain. Nevertheless,

¹⁷⁹ This procedure was confirmed after David's death when his brother Yaroslav of Murom, the eldest surviving Svyatoslavich, succeeded him to Chernigov. See below, p. 303.

¹⁸⁰ See below, p. 235.

Svyatopolk and Monomakh had to keep in mind one important factor when dictating the terms of the settlement. Oleg could still summon the Polovtsy to his aid if he was not reconciled. Since the princes were evidently negotiating in good will, a number of them may also have been influenced by Yaroslav's "testament" advocating brotherly love.¹⁸¹

Despite the cousins' apparent leniency in penalizing the Svyatoslavichi a closer look at the chronicle account suggests that they imposed an additional penalty on Svyatoslav's family. The order in which the PVL presents the names of the princes indicates that the congress legislated a change in the hierarchy of the three families in the "inner circle." Although the chronicler omits telling us directly that this change occurred, there is convincing evidence to support the claim. For example, at the beginning of the account the sequence in which he lists the names of the six princes who attended the *snem* is as follows: Svyatopolk and Vladimir, David Igorevich and Vasil'ko Rostislavich, and finally, the two Svyatoslavichi, David and Oleg. It is noteworthy that the princes are not listed, as was customary, in the order of genealogical seniority which, in the past, coincided with their political importance.¹⁸²

An examination of the families' territorial possessions reveals that the PVL enumerated the princes according to the importance of their territorial holdings. The two most powerful princes were Svyatopolk and Monomakh: the former had Kiev and Turov while the latter had Pereyaslavl', the Rostov region, and his son Mstislav was prince of Novgorod. Of the two debarred princes, Igor's son David controlled Vladimir and Rostislav's youngest son Vasil'ko had Terebovl' (his elder brother Volodar' who was absent ruled Peremyshl'). The Svyatoslavichi were the lowest on the list because Oleg had been deprived of Chernigov and David, the only one who still ruled a domain, had Smolensk. This, then, was the hierarchy of the princes before the *snem*.

After the assembly confirmed the patrimonial allocations the chronicler listed the princes in a different order reflecting the political hierarchy

¹⁸¹ Hrushevsky says that the chronicle account of the Lyubech agreement is presented like an act of brotherly love (*Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 91).

¹⁸² The customary genealogical order for the families of the inner circle was Izyaslavichi, Svyatoslavichi, Vsevolodovichi; for the debarred families it was Igorevichi, Vyacheslavichi, and, in last place, the Rostislavichi because they were descended from Yaroslav's son Vladimir who predeceased his father.

established by the new compact. As before, Svyatopolk and Vladimir were at the top of the list, but the Svyatoslavichi were elevated to the place of third importance. We have seen that beginning with Yaroslav's "testament" and in all subsequent lists of the three eldest Yaroslavichi or their families, they were enumerated in genealogical seniority, that is, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, Vsevolod. The sequence was broken at Lyubech. The princes of Rus' evidently agreed that, in the future, the new political order of princely families superseded the genealogical one.¹⁸³

Thus we see that in addition to being given back their patrimony, the Svyatoslavichi were upgraded from the position of least importance to which they had been relegated after Oleg's defeat. Significantly, they were not returned to their original rung immediately below the Izyaslavichi. Instead, they were placed below the Vsevolodovichi. The new order of political importance promulgated in 1097 was, therefore, as follows: Izyaslavichi, Vsevolodovichi, Svyatoslavichi.

There is an important corollary to the demotion of the Svyatoslavichi. Monomakh was promoted to the place of second political importance. Did this also mean, as one is led to infer, that he became next in line after Svyatopolk to succeed to Kiev? There is no clear answer. Although later evidence suggests that this probably was the case, we will merely raise the question here. Monomakh probably demanded that the Svyatoslavichi pay a special price to him for the return of their patrimony. After all, he was the one who incurred the greatest losses in the conflict with Oleg. In addition to losing a son and valuable troops, he had to relinquish control of Chernigov, Kursk, and Murom to the Svyatoslavichi. The price he probably exacted from them was their higher position in the order of succession to Kiev.¹⁸⁴

Monomakh had another reason for placing himself ahead of the Svyatoslavichi. As Yaroslav's descendants grew in number it became evident to the families of the "inner circle" that the number of official candidates to the post of Kiev was much larger than the number which would actually occupy it. In Monomakh's own generation, Svyatopolk's two brothers had already died and were in this way removed from contention.

¹⁸³ See also Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 121.

¹⁸⁴ In 1113 Monomakh succeeded Svyatopolk but the Svyatoslavichi did not challenge him. This suggests that there was no irregularity in the procedure. See below, pp. 268f.

However, there were three Svyatoslavichi, and the two youngest, David and Yaroslav, could easily outlive Monomakh. Therefore, his chances of occupying Kiev according to the natural order of genealogical progression were slim.¹⁸⁵ By changing the genealogical order of succession to one based on the current political hierarchy, Monomakh would become next in line after Svyatopolk.

It is true that a higher rung on the ladder of succession did not automatically ensure Monomakh control of Kiev. There was another factor. As we have seen in the case of Vseslav of Polotsk, the Kievans assumed the role of "king makers" by selecting their own prince. They could similarly reject the candidate designated by the system of lateral succession and invite one of their choice. Fortunately for Monomakh, in 1093 he had been their favoured candidate and he continued to enjoy strong support in the town.

Thus we see that Monomakh drove a hard bargain with Oleg at the council. A number of its decisions significantly reduced Oleg's political power. All the same, it is important to remember that it was in the main through the assembly of princes that he achieved his most cherished objective. Oleg obtained control of his father's patrimony. After a number of disastrous setbacks, his moment of triumph finally came under bitter-sweet circumstances at Lyubech when the princes of Rus' decreed that henceforth Chernigov would be the undisputed patrimony of Svyatoslav's descendants.

However, its fragmentation was the direct result of the Lyubech compact. In the past, it had been advantageous for a prince to sire many sons. During the reign of the triumvirate the three eldest Yaroslavichi relied on their sons to rule domains they seized from their brothers. This meant that the more sons a prince had the greater number of appropriated towns he could incorporate under his jurisdiction. In this respect, Svyatoslav had been fortunate. Since he fathered five sons he had, in theory, an advantage over Izyaslav and Vsevolod who sired three sons and two sons each.

¹⁸⁵ Ironically, Monomakh found himself in a position like that of his uncle Svyatoslav. Whereas the latter feared he would predecease his elder brother Izyaslav and thus not rule Kiev, Monomakh feared that he would die before the two youngest Svyatoslavichi had their turns at ruling Kiev. As a result, Monomakh's sons would become *izgoi*.

In 1097 the assembly of princes turned the numerical advantage into a disadvantage. It decreed that each princely family was entitled to the patrimony inherited by the father. Unfortunately for the Svyatoslavichi, that is all they got. The three brothers were given lands within Svyatoslav's original Chernigov allotment. However, Turov and Pereyaslavl', the patrimonies of Izyaslav and Vsevolod, remained undivided because, in 1097, each prince was survived by only one son, Svyatopolk and Monomakh. As a family, therefore, the Svyatoslavichi were rendered the weakest of all three in the "inner circle," and, as individuals, Oleg, David, and Yaroslav were made less powerful than their two cousins. Since the territorial allocations were permanent, the fragmentation of patrimonial lands among the Svyatoslavichi would inevitably increase with each generation.

What territorial allocations did the princes of Rus' make to Oleg and David? Or, at any rate, to what degree can these be determined?¹⁸⁶ It is important to observe that the chronicles give us explicit evidence concerning the existence of two separate patrimonies in the lands of Chernigov. We learn this from information given under the year 1151 when Oleg's son Svyatoslav negotiated for lands with David's son Izyaslav in the following manner:

We have two patrimonies. One is from my father Oleg, and the other is from your father David. You, my brother, are a Davidovich, and I am an Ol'govich; you, my brother, take what belongs to your father David, and what belongs to Oleg, give to us.¹⁸⁷

The PVL does not identify the different patrimonies. In the light of available information, however, it is generally agreed that Oleg was given the Novgorod Severskiy district as his patrimony.¹⁸⁸ Its western boundary began at the confluence of the rivers Snov' and the Desna northeast

¹⁸⁶ Historians are handicapped in the investigation of this question because the chronicles failed to describe these territories. Their main sources of information are the references, often indirect, made at a later date by Oleg's and David's sons. As a result, the territories can be outlined only in general terms.

¹⁸⁷ Ipat., col. 444; Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 (M., 1962), p. 349.

¹⁸⁸ The PVL makes no reference to Novgorod Severskiy during Oleg's lifetime. However, Monomakh mentions it in his "Instruction" in reference to Polovtsian attacks in the region in the early 1080s (Lav., col. 248; see *Arkheologiya Ukrainskoy SSR*, vol. 3 [1986], pp. 295-9; Kuza, *Malye goroda*, pp. 77-9).

of Chernigov. It ran north along the right bank of the Snov' encompassing the towns of Snovsk and Ropesk. From the upper reaches of the Snov' it continued in a northeasterly direction along the river Sudost' to the Desna. East of this region the borders with the Vyatichi were still vague, but Oleg evidently had the right to colonize the region. The eastern frontiers were uncharted for the most part; they stretched beyond the environs of Krom on the upper reaches of the river Oka. From there they skirted the Posem'e district, and became even less defined as they continued south of Kursk into the steppe regions of the upper Seym and the Severskiy Donets. The southern boundary became firmly established in the region of the river Vyr', located between the Sula and the Seym. From there, it ran west along the Seym to where it flowed into the Desna, and then along the Desna to its confluence with the Snov'. In addition to Novgorod Severskiy, the other important towns in the domain were Starodub, Snovsk, Putivl', and in the Posem'e region Ryl'sk, Ol'gov, and Kursk.¹⁸⁹

As for David's domain, later evidence suggests that it was located to the west and south of Chernigov. It encompassed both banks of the lower course of the Desna below the point where the Snov' flows into it. On the right bank the territory extended from Chernigov to the Dnepr, its western boundary; it included towns such as Lyubech, Orgoshch, and Listven.¹⁹⁰ This area was the "bread basket" of David's domain. Its northern boundary was probably the region of the swamps known as Peristoe and Zamglay which formed the natural frontiers with the tribes of Radimichi. David evidently had the option of asserting his authority over their lands. The eastern limits went along the right bank of the river Snov'. In the south its border was unstable. It began at the point where the river Teterev flows into the Dnepr and ran east across the swamps known as Vydra and

¹⁸⁹ Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 81-4, 94-6. He suggests that, at Lyubech, Svyatopolk and Monomakh may have compensated Oleg for his vast territorial losses in the same manner that Igor's son David was given territories at a later date at Uvetichi (Ipat., col. 249; Lav., col. 274). Accordingly, Svyatopolk may have given him the northern territories of Kiev (i.e., the Dregovich lands) or a part of them with Sluchesk, just as Monomakh gave him Kursk (Ibid., p. 109; see below, p. 259; see map no. 5).

¹⁹⁰ A ford on the Dnepr located at the mouth of the river Pripyat' was known as David's Chapel (Davidova bozhenka), (s.a. 1150, Ipat., col. 417; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 25). Since it was located in David's domain, the ford was probably named after him.

Vershina to the forepost of Lutava on the right bank of the Desna.

The left bank of the Desna in David's domain was referred to as the "the land beyond the Desna" (Zadesen'e). Its most important town was Vsevolozh; to the south and east of it were military outposts such as Unenezh, Belavezha, Bakhmach, and Glebl'. This woodland area was less densely populated owing to its numerous swamps and saline deposits. The southern boundary of the Zadesen'e extended east from Lutava along the river Oster to Belavezha, and further along the upper reaches of the river Romen to Glebl'. Its eastern frontier went almost as far as the town of Vyr' located between the rivers Seym and Sula. From there, the northern boundary began at a point on the Seym west of Vyr' and followed the river to the Desna, and then the Desna to Chernigov.¹⁹¹

Considering the plight of the Svyatoslavichi at Lyubech, the territorial allotments Oleg's brother received were generous. The youngest, Yaroslav, who evidently had no domain before the congress, was given Murom. David lost Smolensk, it is true, but he was compensated with the most important districts in his father's patrimony and elevated to the status of official regent of Chernigov. Oleg, however, suffered devastating territorial losses. As we have seen, for a short period after 1094 he assumed control over the entire territory of Chernigov and Murom. At Lyubech he was allocated Novgorod Severskiy and the surrounding regions. Many of the latter were still frontier districts over which Chernigov had not yet asserted its full control.

The fragmentation of patrimonies was a symptom of the evolving political fabric of Rus' and ushered in a new period in inter-princely relations. As the number of princes in the "inner circle" grew with each generation the chances for the greater number of Svyatoslavichi to occupy Kiev became remote. However, a prince's failure to occupy Kiev did not jeopardize his right to rule a district in the family patrimony. For most princelings, control of a town in the ancestral domain would be the only authority they would ever exercise. Their political ambitions therefore became focused on the local patrimonial sphere rather than on Kiev and the national level.

¹⁹¹ Nasonov, *Russkaya zemlya*, p. 59; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 78-80; Sytyy, Yu. N., "K istorii izucheniya Chernigovskogo Zadesen'ya," *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi*, gen. ed., P. P. Tolochko (K., 1990), pp. 62-66. Cf. Golubovsky who incorrectly claims the Vyatichi lands also belonged to David (*Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 100).

Despite the debilitating terms which the congress of Lyubech imposed on the Svyatoslavichi, Oleg and his brothers adhered faithfully to the terms of the compact. On the one hand, David, who evidently did nothing to help Oleg win possession of Chernigov, reaped the fruits of his brother's labours. Oleg, on the other hand, was demoted in political rank and deprived of most of his territories. He also suffered much misdirected opprobrium from chroniclers and historians who condemned him for using the Polovtsy in his quest for justice.

K LYUBECH: AN EVALUATION

Yaroslav bequeathed the lands of Rus' to his sons, but his allocations remained in effect only as long as his successor in Kiev was willing to implement them. We have seen that Izyaslav and his allies appropriated the domains of their politically less powerful brothers. Given the subsequent controversies that arose among Yaroslav's grandsons, Svyatopolk and Monomakh found it expedient to re-examine the issue of patrimonies in the light of Yaroslav's bequests. It was addressed in 1097 by a council of princes representing all the surviving branches of Yaroslavichi.

At Lyubech all the princes pledged to ride to the defense of a wronged brother. They therewith confirmed Yaroslav's precept that no prince was to trespass on another's domain. Their main objective was to ensure patrimonial stability. However, their pledge showed that they recognized a weakness in Yaroslav's "testament." He instructed Izyaslav to protect a wronged princeling. Experience had shown that the prince of Kiev was not always willing or sufficiently powerful to carry out this duty. To ensure that a wronged prince could always have recourse to a supreme protector, as it were, they assumed a common responsibility to enforce justice when one of their number was wronged. After Lyubech, the responsibility no longer rested on the shoulders of the prince of Kiev.

We may conclude that the princely council assumed a number of the functions that Yaroslav had designated to his successor in Kiev. These included, for example, preserving unity in the land and protecting the territorial rights of princes. Nevertheless, common princely authority also had its weaknesses. The members of the council were autonomous rulers with different political interests; at times uniformity of opinion might be difficult to achieve. For the successful implementation of policy for the

entire land of Rus' the princes had to legislate by common consent. Thus, if Svyatopolk and Monomakh had brought undue pressure to bear on the other princes to adopt their views, the princelings may have concurred for fear of reprisals if they refused. This meant that the territorial allocations confirmed at Lyubech still had to withstand the test of time.

Even though the principle of patrimonial allotments derived legal status from the consent of all the princes, they believed that this was insufficient authority. They sought to bind themselves to their decree through a power that, in their opinion, was even greater than their own. In the spirit of Yaroslav's counsel to his sons to live good Christian lives they turned to the Holy Saviour as the highest moral authority. Each man bound himself to his pledge by kissing the Holy Cross as a sign of his fealty to Almighty God. The princes generally considered such an oath to be a pledge of the utmost gravity and breaking it was a sacrilege which could lead to the damnation of ones immortal soul.¹⁹²

The compact, therefore, was to be enforced differently from Yaroslav's "testament." Whereas he designated his eldest surviving son, and not the most capable one, to protect the territorial allotments, the agreement of 1097 was promulgated by powerful princes who promised to protect their agreement with force. Accordingly, Yaroslav's somewhat modified patrimonies had a better chance of surviving. Oleg and his brothers were party to all the deliberations and they pledged to protect the settlement along with the other princes.

The congress of Lyubech was the first and most important of a number of princely councils. An examination of the sources reveals that each princely family was usually represented. However, the chronicles do not inform us who convoked the meetings, what obligation a prince had to attend, how the location for the assembly was determined, and if the princes were expected to meet at regular intervals or only on an ad hoc basis.

¹⁹² See Monomakh's description of oaths in his "Instruction" (Lav., col. 245; PC, p. 210.; see above, p. 67). After the council, Vasil'ko, before he was blinded, refused to believe that David was plotting against him because all the princes had "kissed the Holy Cross" promising to fight behind the standard of the Holy Cross against a common aggressor (Ipat., col. 233; Lav., cols. 258-9; PC, p. 189). As we shall see, after he was blinded Vasil'ko would raise that same Holy Cross to David in accusation of his broken oath.

L. THE VASIL'KO AFFAIR

Unfortunately for Rus', all the princes were not made of the same moral fibre. Whereas many of them looked upon pledges as sacrosanct, a number believed that oaths taken on the Holy Cross were no more binding than the pacts made with the Polovtsy. Thus, even though the chronicler would have us believe that the princes departed from Lyubech in great brotherly love to the dismay of only the devil,¹⁹³ there was a serious undercurrent of discontent. Perhaps Svyatopolk and Monomakh, in their effort to resolve Oleg's case, neglected to give sufficient attention to the demands of the Igorevichi and the Rostislavichi.

At the congress the princes confirmed Vsevolod's earlier partition of Igor's patrimony into two domains: the one, centred on its capital of Vladimir, was given to Igor's son David; the other, located around the towns of Peremyshl' and Terebovl', was ruled by the Rostislavichi, Volodar' and Vasil'ko. Despite his overt consent to the allocations, David secretly disputed the decision and wished to incorporate Vasil'ko's Terebovl' into his own lands. However, he was overruled by the decision of all the princes and he kept his own counsel.¹⁹⁴

David believed the only chance he had of obtaining the town was by force. So as not to incur the enmity of the other princes he attempted to make it appear as if he were the wronged party. Indeed, to judge from the account, David may well have believed he was in the right. We are told that his "faithful" boyars deceived him into believing Vasil'ko was plotting to seize Vladimir. The outcome of the deception was the sordid episode of Vasil'ko's blinding and the ensuing internecine strife. Although the PVL gives us an unusually graphic description of these events, we will examine them only insofar as they effected the Svyatoslavichi. As participants at the congress and party to "kissing the Holy Cross," they were inevitably drawn into the fray.

After departing from Lyubech, David and Vasil'ko visited Kiev en route to their domains. Before Vasil'ko departed for Terebovl', David deceived Svyatopolk into believing that Vasil'ko and Vladimir Monomakh

¹⁹³ Ipat., col. 231; Lav., col. 257.

¹⁹⁴ At a later date David explained to Volodar' that at Lyubech he was forced to accept the princes' decisions against his will because he was in their power (Ipat., col. 241; Lav., col. 267).

were plotting against them. According to David, Vasil'ko was responsible for the murder of Svyatopolk's brother Yaropolk¹⁹⁵ and now he was plotting to kill Svyatopolk as well. David's plan was to usurp Svyatopolk's patrimony of Turov and Pinsk. Monomakh had designs on Kiev itself.¹⁹⁶ Svyatopolk, we are told, believed David's lies. On 5 November he invited Vasil'ko to his court and allowed David's men to seize him. Then Svyatopolk's and David's henchmen took the captive to Belgorod located some six miles from Kiev. There Svyatopolk's shepherd, a Turk named Berendi, blinded the prince by gouging out his eyes. After that, David took the unfortunate Vasil'ko to his patrimony of Vladimir.¹⁹⁷

In this way the Lyubech compact was violated even before two of the six "signatories" returned to their homes. Ironically, one of the first men to break his solemn oath was the prince of Kiev himself. As one of the two architects of the agreement he should have set the example in its observance. And yet, his malfeasance need not surprise us. The little information we have about Svyatopolk's activities shows that he was fickle, impulsive, tactless, and more inclined to settle disputes by force than through arbitration.¹⁹⁸

Even if Vasil'ko was guilty of Yaropolk's death, and if there was any truth to the allegation levied against him, it is improbable that Svyatopolk's reasons for backing David stemmed primarily from self-preservation. It is also doubtful that he was sincerely interested in enforcing the patrimonial designations of the Lyubech agreement. Evidence shows that throughout his career he was strongly motivated by self-aggrandizement,

¹⁹⁵ The assassin, a certain Neradets, fled to Vasil'ko's elder brother Ryurik in Peremyshl' suggesting that Ryurik was his master (Ipat., cols. 197-8; Lav., col. 206).

¹⁹⁶ After the blinding of Vasil'ko, Svyatopolk explained to Monomakh he did this because he believed Vasil'ko wanted to seize his patrimonial lands of Turov, Pinsk, Berest'e, Pogorina and rule them from Vladimir, whereas Monomakh intended to seize Kiev (Ipat., col. 237; Lav., col. 263; Lysenko, "Kiev i Turovskaya zemlya," pp. 85-6; cf. Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 129).

¹⁹⁷ Ipat., cols. 231-6; Lav., cols. 257-62.

¹⁹⁸ He demonstrated impulsiveness in 1093 when he chose to fight the Polovtsy rather than negotiate peace; two years later he broke his pact with Itlar' and advocated his murder. Later still he demonstrated his fickleness when he allowed Oleg to build the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb but refused him permission to consecrate it (see below, p. 276).

and that, like David, he had designs on Vasil'ko's domain.¹⁹⁹ Even though the chronicler would have us believe that Svyatopolk was deceived by David, he may have been only too willing to believe David's accusations for ulterior motives. Publicly, he may have voiced the intention to avenge his brother's death and to forestall a plot, but, secretly, he hoped to profit from Vasil'ko's demise as his actions at a later date testify.

Svyatopolk and David miscalculated: their crime united their cousins against them. The two violated Yaroslav's maxim of brotherly love and broke their oaths sworn on the Holy Cross at Lyubech. Even more shocking, Svyatopolk and David inflicted a punishment on one of their "brothers" never before witnessed in Rus'. When Monomakh received the news his reaction was one of disbelief. We are told that he burst into tears saying, "never has such an evil deed been perpetrated in the land of Rus', neither in the time of our fathers nor our grandfathers." When he informed David and Oleg of the crime they also exclaimed, "such a crime has never been committed in our dynasty." Monomakh, therefore, summoned them to come with their troops to right the wrong inflicted upon one of their "brothers." He saw this as a potentially explosive situation which, if not immediately remedied, would lead to internecine wars. These would expose Rus' to the mercy of Polovtsian attacks and all the efforts of Lyubech would have been in vain. David and Oleg concurred; they gathered their troops and came post-haste.²⁰⁰

This was a historic moment in inter-princely relations. It was the first occasion since 1077, when Oleg joined forces with his uncle Vsevolod against Izyaslav and the Poles, that the Svyatoslavichi rode in alliance with Vsevolod's family. Moreover, it was the first time since 1073, when Svyatoslav and Vsevolod drove out Izyaslav from Kiev, that one of Izyaslav's family found himself pitted against the Houses of Svyatoslav and Vsevolod. Whereas before the congress Oleg had been the main obstacle

¹⁹⁹ He demonstrated his greed when the land of Rus' suffered a shortage of salt; he appropriated the supply from the Caves Monastery and sold it for profit (*Paterik Pecherskyi*, pp. 151-5). His designs upon Vasil'ko's domain are revealed later. In 1099 he attempted to appropriate the lands of the Rostislavichi (*Ipat.*, col. 244; *Lav.*, col. 269). Cf. at Uvetichi under 1100 when the princes attempted to persuade Vasil'ko to leave Terebovl'; Svyatopolk's motives were probably not completely honourable (*Ipat.*, cols. 249-50; *Lav.*, col. 274).

²⁰⁰ *Ipat.* col. 236; *Lav.* col. 262.

to princely concord, after the *snem* it was the prince of Kiev himself who undermined it.

Before attacking Kiev, Monomakh, David, and Oleg sent their messengers to Svyatopolk demanding that he justify his conduct: they insisted that he explain the nature of Vasil'ko's offense and the reason for his unprecedented action. The three cousins assumed the role of a princely tribunal. They condemned him for acting unilaterally without consulting them, and accused him of taking up arms against all the princes when he blinded their "brother." If Svyatopolk believed he had a just grievance against Vasil'ko he should have brought the alleged offender for judgement to a princely council, convicted him in its presence, and meted out fair punishment.²⁰¹

Svyatopolk made a feeble attempt to exonerate himself. He explained to the envoys that, after David warned him of Vasil'ko's and Monomakh's alleged plot, he merely took the necessary precautionary measures. Svyatopolk placed the entire blame on David's shoulders, but the messengers were not duped. They pointed out to him that Vasil'ko was captured and blinded in Svyatopolk's towns (i.e., Kiev and Belgorod) in which David had no jurisdiction whatsoever: ultimate responsibility for the crime lay with Svyatopolk.²⁰² Thus, in the opinion of the envoys, Svyatopolk was guilty. On being informed of this Monomakh, David, and Oleg prepared to attack him.²⁰³

The attack never occurred. Just as in 1073 Izyaslav fled from Svyatoslav and Vsevolod, some twenty five years later his son prepared to flee from the sons of Svyatoslav and Vsevolod. On this occasion, however, the Kievans intervened: they forced Svyatopolk to stay and face the consequences of his crime. Wishing to avert internecine war, they asked Vsevo-

²⁰¹ It appears that the princes were repeating to Svyatopolk the procedure he had agreed to follow at Lyubech. This means that the congress divested the prince of Kiev of his supreme judicial authority over the other princes of Rus'.

²⁰² Before the blinding, when Vasil'ko repeatedly insisted he wished to leave Kiev, Svyatopolk prevented him by saying "do not depart from my property." Later in the same account David inadvertently placed the blame on Svyatopolk when he said: "see how he [Vasil'ko] pays you no heed and yet he is in your power" (Ipat., col. 232; Lav., col. 258). At a later date, David tried to remove the blame from himself by pointing out to Volodar' that the offense had been committed in Svyatopolk's town (Ipat., col. 241; Lav. col., 267).

²⁰³ Ipat., cols. 236-7; Lav., cols. 262-3.

lod's widow²⁰⁴ and Metropolitan Nikolay to plead with Monomakh and his "brothers" to spare the land of Rus'. If the princes went to war the Polovtsy would invade their domains. The townsmen pleaded with the princes to be reconciled and to fight the Polovtsy instead. Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi acknowledged the wisdom of their request and, in the spirit of Yaroslav's maxim of brotherly love, negotiated peace with Svyatopolk.²⁰⁵

However, it was agreed that Svyatopolk would bring David to justice for his sedition. The penalty was to be severe: imprisonment or banishment. Evidently, the princes wished to make an example of David not so much because he transgressed the Lyubech compact, but because of his crime. Svyatopolk agreed to their terms and, once again went through the charade of "kissing the Holy Cross."²⁰⁶ Ironically, one of the perpetrators of the strife was commissioned to punish his partner in crime.

Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi decreed that retribution would be meted out by only one prince. This was contrary to the terms of the Lyubech agreement which stipulated that all the princes would go out and fight under the standard of the Holy Cross. The reason for their decision is unexplained, but it may have been a technical one. David neither violated the Lyubech patrimonial allocations nor attacked another prince's domain. His crime was unusual in that he treacherously inflicted bodily harm on another prince. The punishment, therefore, was for a personal crime and the tribunal of three princes resolved that Svyatopolk would carry it out by himself.

He was in no rush to carry out his task. Indeed, Svyatopolk put off initiating his offensive against David until Lent of 1099, almost a year and a half after Vasil'ko was blinded.²⁰⁷ There were two reasons for his de-

²⁰⁴ She was his second wife and Monomakh's stepmother (Baum., V, 1).

²⁰⁵ A graffito in St. Sofia reports: "On 4 December, Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and Oleg concluded peace on the [river?] Zhelan" (Vysotsky, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi*, pp. 24-34). Zhelan' was located between Kiev and Vyshgorod (Lav., cols. 221, 313). Vysotsky suggested that the graffito refers to the treaty made after Vasil'ko's blinding. It is interesting to note that the scribe, ignoring Oleg's official demotion at Lyubech, places only him without David on the list of princes.

²⁰⁶ Ipat., cols. 237-9; Lav., cols. 263-5.

²⁰⁷ He was blinded 5 November 1097 (Ipat., col. 233; Lav., col. 259). Svyatopolk attacked in Lent of 1099, that is, late in the winter or the early spring.

lay. In 1098 David attacked the Rostislavichi. Since he still held Vasil'ko captive in Vladimir he set out around Easter to capture Vasil'ko's town. Therewith he broke the oath he made at Lyubech not to seize another prince's domain. Vasil'ko's elder brother Volodar' came to its defense and confronted David at Buzhsk, a town on the Southern Bug. He forced David to sue for peace and to release Vasil'ko. Later, when spring came the two Rostislavichi retaliated; they razed one of David's towns and demanded that he execute the boyars who advised him to blind Vasil'ko. The PVL reports that David turned over his counsellors to the Rostislavichi and they concluded peace. Then, at dawn, they hanged the boyars from trees and shot arrows into their bodies. In this way the Rostislavichi were avenged a second time.²⁰⁸

Svyatopolk stayed his attack for the duration of these hostilities, no doubt in the hope that the Rostislavichi would accomplish his task. Unfortunately for him, after they took their revenge Volodar' and Vasil'ko concluded peace and allowed David to return to Vladimir. Therefore, Svyatopolk still had to evict him as he had been instructed by his cousins.

Another reason for Svyatopolk's procrastination was his failure to find allies. Although Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi demanded that he punish David, they refused to help him. Presumably, since he had been implicated in the crime, they held him solely responsible for administering justice. Besides, the danger of Polovtsian attacks never disappeared. It would have been imprudent for all the princes of the southern domains to accompany Svyatopolk and leave their lands unprotected. Svyatopolk, therefore, turned to the Poles for assistance. On learning this David did the same and bought their services for fifty ingots of gold.²⁰⁹ However, Svyatopolk outbid David by offering the Poles an even larger amount so they promised to support him instead. The Poles deceived both princes: after taking gold from the one and the other they helped neither. In the end, Svyatopolk had to rely on his own resources to punish David.

His siege of Vladimir lasted seven weeks as David waited in vain for help from the Poles. Finally, he sued for peace and the two princes "kissed

²⁰⁸ Ipat. cols. 239-43; Lav. cols. 265-9.

²⁰⁹ It is difficult to determine the value of gold ingots since none have been discovered. Silver ingots with the average weight of some 198 grams were found in a number of hoards. Evidently, the ingots of different towns (viz., Kiev, Novgorod, and Chernigov) had distinctive shapes (Yanin, *Denezhno-vesovye sistemy russkogo srednevekov'ya*, pp. 38-48, 147).

the Holy Cross." Svyatopolk entered Vladimir on Holy Saturday and David fled to the Poles.²¹⁰ He therewith fulfilled his obligation to Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi. Nevertheless, this was not the end of the affair as Svyatopolk's greed got the better of him.

Svyatopolk decided to seize the domains of the two Rostislavichi as well. By doing so he violated two oaths: first, at Lyubech he had pledged to uphold the territorial rights of every prince; second, when he marched against David he promised Volodar' and Vasil'ko to remain at peace with them. Svyatopolk justified his attack by arguing that the Rostislavichi domains belonged to his father and his brother.²¹¹ In the light of the patrimonial allocations confirmed by the council of princes, Svyatopolk's claim had no validity.²¹²

However, Svyatopolk had an additional reason for attacking the Rostislavichi, one the PVL neglects to mention. A different source, which at times has unique and reliable information, reports that after Svyatopolk blinded Vasil'ko the two Rostislavichi retaliated by cutting off food supplies to the Kievan lands. They neither allowed foreign merchants to leave Galich nor permitted trading vessels to set off from Peremyshl'. The disorder and general unrest caused by the embargo brought about shortages of wheat and salt in all of southern Rus'. There was general unrest and plundering; the people were in great distress as they suffered from hunger, poverty, and the ravages of war.²¹³ Svyatopolk undoubtedly wished to re-establish trade with Galicia to alleviate the hardships of his subjects. He believed that the way to do this was through war.

Volodar' and Vasil'ko came out to do battle with Svyatopolk and dramatically held up the Holy Cross as the vindication of their right. Svyatopolk remained unmoved and, placing his confidence in his large

²¹⁰ Ipat., cols. 243-4; Lav., col. 269.

²¹¹ Ipat., col. 244; Lav., cols. 269-70. Svyatopolk's claim suggests that the original domain inherited by Igor', which Izyaslav later gave to his son Yaropolk, included the territories of Terebovl' and Peremyshl'. These were the towns the princes at Lyubech allocated to the Rostislavichi.

²¹² Hrushevsky writes that Svyatopolk probably considered himself to be the injured party at Lyubech because Monomakh was given control of Novgorod which Svyatopolk considered rightfully belonged to him (*Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 91). Svyatopolk may have tried to compensate for Monomakh's territorial advantage (i.e., Novgorod) by trying to seize control of Galicia.

²¹³ *Paterik Pecherskyi*, pp. 151-2.

army, advanced. The Rostislavichi, for their part, fought behind the standard of the Holy Cross and, fortified with the knowledge that right was on their side, won the day. Svyatopolk fled to Vladimir.²¹⁴

Svyatopolk's behaviour reflected his blatant disrespect for sacred pledges and the authority of the princely congress. There is no chronicle information describing the reactions of Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi to his conduct. In the light of the Lyubech agreement, however, they had to condemn his claim to the territories of Galicia. All the same, it is interesting to discover that the one Svyatoslavich who did participate in the conflict fought for Svyatopolk.

He was accompanied by his two sons (Mstislav and Yaroslav), two nephews (the Yaropolchichi), and Svyatosha (i.e., Svyatoslav) the eldest son of David of Chernigov.²¹⁵ The presence of just one Svyatoslavich in the company of the Izyaslavichi is surprising. Although the chronicle offers no explanation why only Svyatosha helped Svyatopolk, an examination of the relationship between the two princes during these campaigns may provide us with the explanation. Svyatopolk treated Svyatosha like his own sons. We are told that after David fled from Vladimir Svyatopolk appointed his son Mstislav to the town. He dispatched his second son Yaroslav to Hungary for military assistance against Volodar' in Peremyshl'; evidently, Svyatopolk intended Yaroslav to occupy the town. Finally, he gave Svyatosha Lutsk, an important town in the Vladimir region.

To judge from Svyatosha's close association with Svyatopolk, the latter was probably his father-in-law.²¹⁶ Therefore, it is most likely that he assisted Svyatopolk because the latter applied pressure on him as an in-law and not because Svyatosha's father, the prince of Chernigov, supported Svyatopolk's policy. David's attitude towards the Rostislavichi was the same, we may assume, as that of his brother Oleg and Monomakh. Svyatosha's presence on the campaign did not reflect Svyatoslavichi support for Svyatopolk's attack on the Rostislavichi.

²¹⁴ Ipat., cols. 244-5; Lav., cols. 269-70.

²¹⁵ Lav., col. 270. Svyatosha, in baptism Nicholas, is mentioned for the first time. He is generally considered to be the eldest of David's sons because he is the first one mentioned by the sources (Zotov, p. 261).

²¹⁶ Svyatosha evidently married Anne, Svyatopolk's daughter (Baum., II, 12; IV, 7; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29; Zotov, pp. 38, 261). Svyatopolk may well have arranged the alliance after the congress of 1097 with the intention of securing the loyalty of David the new political head of the Svyatoslavichi.

Svyatopolk's allocations to his sons and Svyatosha reveal his strategy: he intended to appropriate the entire domain originally allotted to Igor by Yaroslav "the Wise."²¹⁷ However, his plan came to naught even though Yaroslav brought reinforcements from King Kalman and the Hungarians. David Igorevich rode to the Polovtsy and, with Khan Bonyak's assistance, defeated the Hungarians. Then he marched against Mstislav in Vladimir. During the siege Mstislav was mortally wounded and, on 12 June 1099, died.²¹⁸ The PVL reports that the citizens of Vladimir informed Svyatopolk of his son's death and he sent his commander Putyata to help them.²¹⁹

In describing the battles that followed between Svyatopolk's forces and David, the chronicler gives us an insight into Svyatosha's character. He reports that Putyata came to Lutsk and joined forces with Svyatosha to conduct an offensive against David. At that time, a number of David's retainers were staying at Svyatosha's court; he promised to send them back and warn David if Svyatopolk intended to attack Vladimir. Nonetheless, Svyatosha broke his promise; he imprisoned David's men and set off with Putyata to attack him. They arrived at Vladimir on 5 August and, catching David by surprise, defeated him. David fled with his nephew Mstislav and Svyatopolk's forces occupied Vladimir. Thus we see that on the field of battle Svyatosha evidently conducted himself in a worthy manner. When it came to honouring his pledge to the boyars, however, he showed a seeming lack of integrity. Perhaps he was forced to adopt this course of action by Svyatopolk's boyar Putyata. We are not told.

After Putyata appointed a *posadnik* to administer Vladimir he returned to Kiev and Svyatosha went to Lutsk. Soon after, David retaliated with the help of Khan Bonyak; he attacked Svyatosha, forced him to sue for peace, and to return to his father in Chernigov. After losing Svyatosha's military support Svyatopolk's *posadnik* in Vladimir fled and David

²¹⁷ Vasil'ko's town of Terebovl' is not mentioned. Svyatopolk either intended the Rostislavichi to keep it or give it to one of his two younger sons, Bryacheslav or Izyaslav (Baum., II, 15 and 16).

²¹⁸ Cf. the account in the *Paterik Pecherskiy* which reports that Mstislav was killed, just as the monk Vasily prophesied, with the same arrow that the prince had mortally wounded the monk (pp. 168-71).

²¹⁹ Ipat., cols. 245-8; Lav. cols. 270-3.

regained his patrimony.²²⁰ Svyatopolk's schemes gained him nothing. Not only did the Rostislavichi successfully defend their domains, but, more important, Svyatopolk failed to evict David from Vladimir as his cousins had directed him to do. After almost two years of incessant fighting, the status quo among the princes of the western domains remained the same.

As a result of the internecine strife, the people of Rus' may well have despaired in the success of the Lyubech agreement: to all appearances it failed to establish peace among the princes. Granted, the princes could argue that they had succeeded to the extent that the Svyatoslavichi and the Rostislavichi were mollified. Unfortunately for the advocates of peace, the conflicts which arose after 1097 were unpredictable in that they were in large part the direct outcome of the Lyubech compact itself. It created new malcontents; the most dangerous of these was the prince of Kiev himself. By the end of 1099 little was resolved: Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi were dissatisfied with Svyatopolk because David remained unpunished, David himself wished to seize Vasil'ko's domain, and Svyatopolk was unhappy with the allocation of Igor's patrimony because he believed it belonged to him. The future of patrimonial allocations remained in the balance.

M. UVENCHI

After Svyatopolk failed to punish David Igorevich, the princes of Rus' attempted to resolve their differences once again by means of a deliberative assembly. On 14 August 1100,²²¹ over a year after Svyatopolk's son Mstislav was killed at Vladimir and David regained control of his patrimony, the princes gathered together. Svyatopolk, Vladimir Monomakh, and the two Svyatoslavichi, David and Oleg, came to a place called Uve-

²²⁰ Ipat., cols. 247-8; Lav., cols. 272-3. It is noteworthy that, once again, unlike in the case of Oleg, the scribe fails to condemn David's use of the Polovtsy against another prince and the Christians of Rus'.

²²¹ The different sources are not agreed on the date of the meeting, some say 14 August (Ipat., col. 249) and others 10 August (Lav., col. 273).

tichi and concluded peace.²²²

This is an enigmatic statement. No earlier disagreement between the princes has been reported. However, to judge from Svyatopolk's campaigns in the previous year, Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi had reason to be antagonistic towards him. He failed to punish David as he had promised and he violated the oath he had made at Lyubech by attempting to seize the domains of the Rostislavichi. His action could be construed as a declaration of war on all the princes who had attended the congress and had promised to defend princely territorial rights. At Uvetichi, therefore, it may have been necessary for Svyatopolk to make a pledge of good faith to his cousins. However, to judge from the chronicle report, the princes met in the main to deliberate over David's case and to decide what course of action to take against him. This, at least, is suggested by the news that some two weeks later, 30 August, David came to Uvetichi demanding to know why his peers had summoned him.

Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi assumed the role of a tribunal and meted out justice. Their proceedings were divided into two parts. At first the princes including David, the alleged plaintiff, assembled. His "brothers" treated him as an equal. They asked him to "sit on the same rug" with them and to lodge his complaint. That is, they acted as if David came demanding justice from the council. Although the PVL neglects to explain what the princes believed David's complaint to be, it is not difficult to suggest one. David could have demanded justice from the princes on the grounds that they absolved Svyatopolk from his part in Vasil'ko's blinding but were still holding David responsible. Volodar' and Vasil'ko had already avenged themselves against him on two occasions. Since that time he had become reconciled with them and helped them defeat the Hungarians. Because he and the Rostislavichi were at peace, he could argue there was no further need for punishment. However, if David had intended to levy any accusation he reneged. Indeed, to judge from the account, there appeared to be a misunderstanding among the princes. David claimed he had come because he thought the princes had summoned him to a trial. His perception of the situation proved to be correct.

²²² Ipat., cols. 248-9, Lav., col. 273. There is much controversy over the location of Uvetichi. Hrushevky is probably correct in suggesting that it was a place located in the allegedly neutral zone on the left bank of the Dnepr opposite Vyshgorod (*Ocherk*, pp. 21-2, and his *Istoria Ukraïny-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 271-2).

After what appear to have been merely opening "formalities," the princes proceeded to the second stage of the meeting, David's trial. All present mounted their horses and the judges, the princes of the "inner circle" and their retinues, deliberated over David's crime separately according to family groups. David sat some distance apart from them, and was forbidden to approach. After the judges reached a consensus of opinion, each of the groups sent a boyar to David to relay the verdict.²²³

It was severe. The princes decreed, unanimously, that David forfeited Vladimir in Volynia. He and his heirs lost control of his father's patrimony forever.²²⁴ With their verdict the princes annulled the decision they reached at Lyubech concerning David's patrimonial allotment. The reason for their action was novel. Their spokesmen informed David he was being penalized because he had "drawn his sword against them" in a manner unheard of in Rus': he blinded a "brother." Their sentence revealed the abhorrence in which they held the crime and the determination with which they intended to forestall any recurrence of it. It is noteworthy that David was not penalized for breaking the Lyubech agreement.

Fortunately for David, just as his cousins accused him out of apparently humanitarian considerations for the blinded Vasil'ko, they penalized him in the same spirit. They neither imprisoned him nor maimed him. Instead, they relegated him to political oblivion by giving him Buzhesk, a minor town on the southern frontiers of Volynia. Svyatopolk, who took possession of Vladimir, compensated him with Duben and Chertoryysk, towns located on the eastern borders of the Vladimir domain.²²⁵ Monomakh promised to pay him two hundred ingots, and David and Oleg, as

²²³ Although Svyatopolk and the two Svyatoslavichi sent one boyar each, Monomakh sent two. He also acted as spokesman for the princes. This information shows that Monomakh played the leading role in the proceedings.

²²⁴ David's punishment at Uvetichi was not unlike the one Oleg incurred at Lyubech. Oleg was deprived of Chernigov in the same manner that David lost Vladimir. Indeed, their fates were so similar that a parallel may be drawn. For example, just as David's heirs lost the right to rule Vladimir, it is highly probable that Oleg's sons were also denied the right of succession to Chernigov.

²²⁵ At a later date Svyatopolk gave him Dorogobuzh located on the eastern borders of the Vladimir domain (s.a. 1097, Ipat., col. 248; Lav., col. 273; s.a. 1100, Ipat., col. 250; Lav., col. 274). It evidently became his new patrimony; he died there on 25 May 1112 (Ipat., col. 273; cf. Baum., I, 33).

co-regents of the Svyatoslavichi, gave him the same amount.²²⁶ At Uvetichi the princes finally accomplished what they had commissioned Svyatopolk to do after Vasil'ko's blinding. They dispossessed David of Vladimir.

The verdict against David was not the only order of business the princes conducted at Uvetichi. Even more surprising at first glance is their communique to the Rostislavichi who failed to attend. The four cousins sent their messengers to Volodar' and Vasil'ko instructing the elder one to take his blind brother to himself. However, if Vasil'ko found such an arrangement unsuitable, he could come to the four princes and they themselves would provide for his needs. Finally, they demanded that Volodar' return their servants and peasants.²²⁷

The directive to the two Rostislavichi seemingly suggests that the princes intended to penalize the victim, Vasil'ko, in addition to David, the perpetrator of the crime.²²⁸ If this was their intention, it was grossly unjust in the light of the wrong both Vasil'ko and Volodar' suffered at the hands of David and Svyatopolk. They blinded Vasil'ko, then David held him captive in Vladimir and, at a later date, tried to seize his patrimony. After he failed Svyatopolk made an unsuccessful attempt as well. Finally, in 1099, Svyatopolk tried to appropriate both their domains. Thus, it is perplexing to discover that at Uvetichi the princes deliberated about the Rostislavichi in absentia and sent them what appeared to be a punitive directive. If that was their intention it is not surprising to learn that the two Rostislavichi rejected the council's demands.²²⁹

Did Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi really wish to move Vasil'ko from Terebovl' for punitive reasons? It is important to note that, unlike David's case, the princes made no attempt to enforce their alleged punishment on the Rostislavichi after the latter rejected it. As Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi had no intention of going to war, their directive to Vasil'ko and Volodar' may not have been conceived as a punishment.

²²⁶ Ipat., cols. 248-9; Lav., cols. 273-4. Svyatopolk compensated David with towns, presumably, because he assumed control of Vladimir. We are not told what, if anything, Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi received for which they had to pay David two hundred ingots.

²²⁷ Presumably, they were Svyatopolk's subjects who were taken prisoner when he attacked the Rostislavichi.

²²⁸ See, for example, Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, pp. 98-9.

²²⁹ Ipat., cols. 249-50; Lav., col. 274; cf. Sof. I, p.157.

Since the princes condemned David out of humanitarian motives for Vasil'ko, it is logical to assume that they acted for the same reasons when they approached the victim himself. That is, we cannot rule out the possibility that the princes genuinely wished to make some provision for Vasil'ko's wellbeing in the light of the atrocity he suffered. If so, their missive to the Rostislavichi was not a punitive command but an act of mercy.

We have seen the horror which the princes expressed at hearing the news that one of their "brothers" was blinded. They evidently wanted to assume some responsibility for Vasil'ko's care and were in a quandary how best to help him. Since he was the first prince to suffer such a fate they had no precedents to follow. They probably believed his blindness made him politically ineffectual as, indeed, Svyatopolk and David intended. Therefore, they advised him to move to Peremyshl' where his brother could look after him and from where the two could govern their domains. As a model for such a dual regency the cousins could point to David and Oleg in Chernigov. Their offer to look after Vasil'ko themselves is further proof that they were motivated by the kind of brotherly love advocated by Yaroslav "the Wise." However, Vasil'ko was made of stronger metal than they imagined and refused to be immobilized by his blindness. He rejected their suggestions and ruled Terebovl' until 28 February 1125, the day of his death.²³⁰

At last, the main objective of the congress of Lyubech was realized. Peace was established among the princes as all the malcontents were either placated or subdued: the Svyatoslavichi were resigned to their lot; David was relegated to Dorogobuzh; and the Rostislavichi ruled in Peremyshl' and Terebovl'. The only prince who had cause for disaffection was Svyatopolk because he failed to acquire the domains of the Rostislavichi. However, as Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi refused to support his claim, even he realized it would be foolhardy to antagonize them. Moreover, the Polovtsy once again began harassing the lands of Rus' and this time all the princes, including the Svyatoslavichi, rose to its defense.

N. THE POLOVTSY

Up to 1097 one of the main stumbling blocks towards a rapprochement between Oleg and his cousins Svyatopolk and Monomakh was his refusal

²³⁰ Ipat., col. 288; Baum. III, 4.

to stop fraternizing with the Polovtsy. Since the princes were reconciled at Lyubech we may assume that he agreed to some form of compromise concerning his relations with the Polovtsy. Oleg must have promised to co-operate to a degree acceptable to his two cousins. This, at any rate, is suggested by the willingness of the Svyatoslavichi to participate in campaigns after the congress.

The demonstration of princely unity apparently persuaded the Polovtsy to adopt a more cautious policy towards Rus'. For the next few years they stopped their pillaging. Then, in 1101 they resumed their attacks with a vengeance. In that year Svyatopolk, Monomakh, David, Oleg, and Yaroslav met at Zoloŭcha, a small inlet of the river Chertoryya on the east bank of the Dnepr opposite Kiev. When the chieftains learnt of the assembly, they all sent envoys to the princes requesting peace. In reply, the latter instructed the Polovtsy to meet them at Sakov, a town located on the east bank below Kiev. On 15 September they concluded peace and, after taking hostages from each other, departed.²³¹

From this information we see that all three Svyatoslavichi, including Yaroslav, came. This is noteworthy because, to judge from the lack of any references to him after 1096 when he participated in Oleg's campaigns, he evidently did not attend the council at Uvetichi. Since he is reported present in 1101 the omission of his name at Uvetichi, evidently, was not an oversight.

Yaroslav came to Zoloŭcha from distant Murom for at least two reasons. His own domain, situated on the eastern frontiers of Rus', was especially vulnerable to Polovtsian attacks. Thus he was keenly interested in eliminating that danger. He also came because of the promise the Svyatoslavichi had made at Lyubech to support Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's policy against the Polovtsy. His presence along with that of his two elder brothers demonstrated to the princes of Rus' that the Svyatoslavichi intended to honour their pledge. Just as the organizers of the Lyubech congress hoped, by rattling their sabres the united *druzhiny* of the three princely families intimidated the Polovtsy into submission.

Two years later, in 1103, Svyatopolk and Monomakh launched a major offensive against the Polovtsy; the chronicler speaks of it as a divinely inspired plan. Such a military operation was probably one of Svyatopolk's

²³¹ Ipat., col. 250; Lav., col. 275.

and Monomakh's longstanding objectives. Indeed, it was perhaps for that very purpose that the princes had met at Zolot'cha two years earlier when the Polovtsy sent their emissaries with offers of peace. Once the peace treaty expired, Monomakh, who evidently assumed the role of commander-in-chief, convinced Svyatopolk that a spring attack was the most advantageous.²³² They ordered the princes of Rus', including David and Oleg, to join them.

David dutifully "listened to them" and presented himself with his troops at Pereyaslav'; Oleg did not come.²³³ To judge from the chronicler's comment that "Oleg did not listen to their summons," he evidently disagreed with the attack; he excused himself by feigning illness.²³⁴ The author offers no explanation for Oleg's disagreement. Perhaps he thought the attack was a breach of the pact concluded two years earlier. It is also possible that one or more of the tribes to be attacked were his allies. Whatever the reasons, his presence at Zolot'cha and his refusal to join the expedition in 1103 reveals an ambivalence in his conduct.

At Lyubech, Oleg promised to support the policy towards the Polovtsy adopted by Svyatopolk and Monomakh. Nevertheless, he remained selective: he backed the peace settlement but refused to join the expedition. Interestingly enough, neither the princes nor the chronicler upbraided him for boycotting the campaign. Although there is a possibility that he was genuinely ill, the author's observation that he feigned illness speaks against this. Even though he refused to participate, Oleg could argue that his family was officially represented by David. Indeed, for Monomakh, that was evidently sufficient. The important consideration was that, at long last, the three families marched as one. On 4 April, therefore, Svyatopolk, Monomakh, David, and all the other princes of Rus' set out into the eastern steppes in search of the enemy. After a four-day march they encountered an "innumerable" force. Even so, they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Polovtsy and killed twenty of their chieftains. The princes

²³² The fact that Monomakh assumed the role of commander-in-chief is suggested both by the news that his proposal for the spring attack was accepted and by the information that after the campaign Svyatopolk sent the captured Polovtsian chieftains to him for punishment.

²³³ Yaroslav, evidently, was not summoned. On 4 March he was defeated by the Mordva, a neighbouring people to Murom (Ipat., col. 256; Lav., col. 280) and was probably unable to send troops.

²³⁴ Ipat., col. 253; cf. Lav. col. 277.

seized much booty and returned to Rus' in glory.²³⁵

After that the lands of Rus' enjoyed a period of relative quiet for a number of years during which the Polovtsy licked their wounds. Nevertheless, on occasion, a reckless band sallied forth, pillaged a town, and quickly withdrew. In 1106 a small raiding party attacked the environs of Zarech'sk, a town located in the western regions of the Kiev domain. Svyatopolk quickly sent a number of his boyars in pursuit of the marauders and recovered the booty. In this way he routed the enemy without assistance from his cousins.²³⁶ In the following year, however, the Polovtsy renewed their forays on the eastern bank in earnest.

In May of 1107 Khan Bonyak raided the surrounding regions of Pereyaslavl'.²³⁷ Evidently, his primary objective was to capture horses, probably the very ones Monomakh seized from the Polovtsy four years earlier. However, when he returned later in the summer of 1107, he was accompanied by many other khans including "old Sharukan." They besieged Lubno, a town located east of Pereyaslavl' on the river Sula. Monomakh called the other princes to his aid. According to the PVL, his forces constituted the retinues of the following princes: Svyatopolk, Monomakh, Oleg, Svyatoslav (Oleg's son?), Monomakh's sons Vyacheslav and Yaropolk, as well as Igor's grandson Mstislav.²³⁸ The forces of Rus' crossed the river Sula and came upon the Polovtsy by surprise. They let out such a clamour that the terrified enemy fled in disarray. The princes cut down many of the panic-stricken tribesmen and killed a number of their chieftains including Bonyak's brother. They captured the Polovtsian camp on

²³⁵ Ipat., cols. 252-5; Lav., cols. 277-9; see Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 180-1.

²³⁶ Ipat., col. 257; Lav., col. 281.

²³⁷ He was last mentioned under the year 1099 when he helped David Igorevich regain Vladimir from Svyatopolk's contingents.

²³⁸ Concerning Monomakh's sons see Baum., V, 9-11; for Mstislav, see Baum., I, 35; cf. Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 121. Svyatoslav's identity is difficult to determine. Both Oleg and Monomakh had a son with that name. However, the order of the names in the account (viz. Svyatoslav immediately following Oleg, and Vyacheslav and Yaropolk together without Svyatoslav) suggests that Svyatoslav was Oleg's son. The latter's association with the Polovtsy is supported by evidence from the following year when, as we shall see, Oleg's son Svyatoslav married a Polovtsian princess.

12 August and returned home in glory.²³⁹

The victory, like the one in 1103, was a credit to the joint effort of the princes. However, on this occasion, the Svyatoslavichi were represented by Oleg rather than David. Unlike Oleg's absence in 1103, the chronicle passes over David's absence in silence. Nevertheless, an explanation can be offered. Chronicle evidence suggests that the brothers decided to participate on expeditions alternately. At Lyubech they probably promised that the Svyatoslavichi, as a family, would provide troops for the defense of Rus'. As to which prince (viz. David or Oleg) commanded them was a family matter. A comparison of the two campaigns (viz. 1103 and 1107) suggests Oleg's rationale for participating. In 1103 Monomakh launched an offensive expedition without having been directly provoked by the Polovtsy. Four years later the princes marched to the Sula to protect the inhabitants of Rus' from attack. Since Oleg participated in the latter he evidently intended to help keep marauding bands out of Rus'. His action was in keeping with his basic policy: to oppose offensive campaigns against the Polovtsy and to promote alliances with them.²⁴⁰

It appears that Monomakh himself was amenable to a conciliatory policy. Half a year later, he and the Svyatoslavichi concluded marriage alliances with a number of the khans. On 12 January 1108, Monomakh, David, and Oleg visited two khans each of whom was named Aepa. Monomakh concluded a marriage alliance with Aepa, the son of Osen' (Asen'), who gave his daughter as wife to Monomakh's son Yury (the future "Long Arms" [Dolgorukiy] of Rostov-Suzdal'). Aepa, the son of Girgen, gave a daughter as wife for an unnamed son of Oleg (probably Svyatoslav).²⁴¹

Who proposed the marriages, the princes or the khans? If it was the former, did Monomakh play the leading role as he had done so often in the past, or did Oleg persuade him to follow the peaceful course of action? In either case, the princes' strategy probably was to form alliances with the

²³⁹ Lav., cols. 281-2; cf. Ipat., col. 258 which has an incomplete account.

²⁴⁰ See also Golubovsky, *Istoriya Severnoy zemli*, pp. 93-4.

²⁴¹ Ipat., col. 259; Lav., cols. 282-3. The son evidently was Svyatoslav (Tat., 4, p. 177; 2, p. 125; Baum. IV, 15; Zotov, p. 265). Cf. Karamzin who wrongly suggests that Oleg was married a second time to a Polovtsian princess (*Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskogo*, p. 90, fn. 228). Other investigators adopted the same view (e.g., V. S. Ikonnikov, *Opyt' russkoy istoriografii*, vol. 2, bk 1 [K., 1908], p. 478; Zotov, p. 259; Baum., IV, 4; and others).

more powerful khans in the hope of dividing the enemy.²⁴² If Oleg proposed the alliances, both Monomakh and Svyatopolk had to concur with him since, in 1097, the princes agreed to follow a common policy. This being the case, it is noteworthy that Svyatopolk failed to attend; the PVL proffers no explanation. Since Monomakh was involved we may assume Svyatopolk also approved. He absented himself because he was probably still smarting from the pact he had formed, unsuccessfully, with Khan Tugorkan.²⁴³

The marriage alliance was a milestone for the Svyatoslavichi. In the past, even though Svyatoslav and Oleg had cultivated friendly ties with the Polovtsy, they evidently had not contracted marriages with them.²⁴⁴ Oleg established the precedent for his dynasty. Despite his example, however, it failed to become a popular practice among his descendants. They had extensive contacts with the Polovtsy, but few concluded marriages with them. Similarly, David accompanied Monomakh and Oleg, but, according to the account, formed no marriage alliance. Nor is there any record that any of his children did.²⁴⁵ No doubt, David attended as the politically senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi, and, in that capacity, concluded the official peace treaty with the chieftains.

In the spring of 1110 Svyatopolk, Monomakh, and David embarked on an expedition. However, when they reached Voin', a town located in Monomakh's domain some eight miles south of Pereyaslavl', they turned back for reasons not given.²⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that, on this occasion, it was David who once again represented the Svyatoslavichi. This supports the observation that he and Oleg took turns going on anti-Polovtsian expeditions.

²⁴² Evidently, the Polovtsy were made up of many tribes led by many khans; as we have seen, in the battles fought in 1103 and 1107 large numbers of khans were killed. It appears they had no great khan, so to speak, as their overlord.

²⁴³ In 1094 he married the daughter of Tugorkan (Ipat., col. 216; Lav., col. 226); two years later, the khan attacked the lands of Pereyaslavl' and was killed along with his son by Svyatopolk's troops (Ipat., col. 222; Lav., col. 232).

²⁴⁴ Our information concerning marriages among the Svyatoslavichi is incomplete. Therefore, we cannot ascertain if Svyatoslav's sons Gleb and Roman married, or if Oleg's sons Igor' and Gleb had wives. One or more of them may have married Polovtsian women.

²⁴⁵ For marriage alliances in both families see Baum. IV, and pp. 69-70.

²⁴⁶ Ipat., col. 260; Lav., col. 284.

After reporting the aborted campaign of 1110, one chronicle gives only Polovtsian related information for the remainder of the year. It has three short accounts describing raids made by the Polovtsy on the territories of Pereyaslavl': they came to Voin' and withdrew;²⁴⁷ they pillaged the villages around Pereyaslavl'; they took captives from Chyuchin (presumably a place in the Pereyaslavl' region).²⁴⁸ This information suggests that, in 1110, the Polovtsy escalated their attacks on Monomakh's lands.

After that the PVL gives a long account of an angelic vision (i.e., a pillar of fire) which appeared on 11 February 1111 over the Caves Monastery. During the course of his description in which the scribe explains the role angels play in protecting faithful Christians, he notes that the celestial manifestation was a foreshadowing of the magnificent event that occurred in the following year when angels came to fight on the side of the princes against the Polovtsy.²⁴⁹ What is more, as the pillar of fire hovered over Gorodno where Monomakh was staying at that time, he was angelically inspired to lead the princes of Rus' against the Polovtsy.²⁵⁰

The chronicler wished to present Monomakh's plan as divinely inspired. In this way, if anyone criticized it (e.g., Oleg), he would be opposing God. What is more, given that the endeavour had divine authorization, success was guaranteed. On the more mundane level, however, we have seen that in 1110 Monomakh's domains suffered the greatest devastation. Therefore, he would gain the most by leading an expedition against the tribesmen.

In 1111 Monomakh's wish was realized. He persuaded Svyatopolk to join him and, together, they summoned David (but not Oleg). The list of princes was as follows: Svyatopolk and his son Yaroslav; Monomakh and his sons Mstislav and Yaropolk; David and his son Rostislav; Oleg's sons Vsevolod and Svyatoslav; and David Igorevich. Placing their hope in God, the most pure Mother of God and His holy angels, the princes set off in the winter during the second week of Lent.²⁵¹

²⁴⁷ This, in fact, may be a repetition of the information already given concerning the aborted expedition conducted by the three princes.

²⁴⁸ Ipat., col. 260.

²⁴⁹ Ipat., cols. 260-4.

²⁵⁰ Ipat., col. 268. It has been suggested that Gorodno was Gorodets across the river from Kiev (Rychka, *Formirovanie territorii Kievskoy zemli*, p. 75).

²⁵¹ The date of the Second Sunday of the Great Fast was 26 February (Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 181).

After crossing many rivers they came to the Don (or, perhaps, the Severskiy Donets which the chroniclers also call the Don) in the sixth week of Lent and, on the Tuesday, reached the Polovtsian town of Sharukan'.²⁵² Its inhabitants were allies and brought out "fish and wine" (variant, "fish and honey") as a token of peace. On Wednesday, the princes marched on the town of Sugrov and set fire to it. On learning this, the Polovtsy quickly rallied and, on Friday 24 March, attacked. The chronicler takes pains to remind the reader that the campaign was conducted under divine protection. The princes placed all their hope in God and He vented His anger against the enemy by helping them defeat the Polovtsy near the stream called Degeya. After the victory, the princes gave thanks to God and, on Palm Sunday, the priests celebrated the liturgy.

On the Monday of Holy Week, however, the tribesmen regrouped and assembled in a great multitude. Then the Lord God sent an angel to help the princes. At first, many soldiers from both sides fell in the fierce fighting but when Monomakh advanced with his troops and David with his, the Polovtsy took fright and fled. In this way, on Monday of Holy Week (27 March), a great number of Polovtsy was killed on the river Salnitsa, a tributary of the Don, and God saved his people. Svyatopolk, Monomakh, and David gave praise to God for the victory. Later, they asked their captives why, having come with such a large force, they fled after barely initiating battle. They replied: "How could we fight when others, riding above your heads dressed in shining armour and looking most terrifying, were assisting you." These, we are told, were the angels sent by God to help the Christians. The princes then returned to their domains with great honour and their renown spread to the lands of the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechs, and even to Rome.²⁵³

Although one of the main purposes of the account was to embellish Monomakh's prestige in the eyes of the people of Rus', it also gives us information concerning the Svyatoslavichi. We see that once again David represented his family. Indeed, to judge from the account, this was the most important role he ever played on a military expedition. Surprisingly,

²⁵² For a description of the route followed by the troops see Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 181-3; Sharukan', it has been suggested, is present-day Chuhuiv on the Severkiy Donets in the Khar'kov region (*Litopys rus'kyi*, p. 577).

²⁵³ *Ipat.*, cols. 264-73, s.a. 1111, Mosk., p. 389 and continued s.a. 1105, p. 26; cf. s.a. 1112, Lav., col. 289.

he rather than Svyatopolk is singled out with Monomakh for his valour. It was evidently their valiant charge which turned the tide of battle in favour of the princes. This shows that, despite David's pacific nature, he could be an effective commander. In fact, his conduct may suggest that he was finally taking a more active part in the leadership of his family.

Significantly, Monomakh and Svyatopolk did not summon Oleg to join the expedition. Their decision was probably influenced by a number of considerations. As has been noted, Oleg refused to participate in offensive expeditions. Besides, by sending two of his sons in his stead he probably satisfied Svyatopolk and Monomakh. Moreover, his declining health prevented him from coming. By 1111 Oleg had not participated in any campaigns for four years and, as we shall see, he died four years later.

Oleg's youngest brother Yaroslav also did not come. Although the chronicle tells us little about his affairs in Murom, he was evidently in constant danger of attack from the Mordva, the Volga Bulgars, and the Polovtsy. It would have been unwise to leave his domain defenceless.

The account also gives information concerning the next generation of Svyatoslavichi. The list of participants makes it clear that the Svyatopolkichi, the Monomashichi, the Davidovichi, and the Ol'govichi were playing increasingly important roles in the politics of Rus'. On this occasion, a number of the sons are introduced for the first time. David was accompanied by Rostislav. He came rather than his eldest brother Svyatosha because the latter had entered the Caves Monastery five years earlier and had become a monk.²⁵⁴ It is also noteworthy that Oleg sent his eldest son Vsevolod, who is mentioned for the first time. He was probably the official representative of the Ol'govichi and commanded his father's *druzhina*. Oleg's youngest son Svyatoslav also came. He, no doubt, was sent because of his marriage alliance with the tribe of Aepa (son of Girgen). Given his marital bond with the Polovtsy, Oleg probably intended Svyatoslav to act as a "liaison," as it were, between his family and the Polovtsy.

Although the chronicle gives the identities of the princes we are told little about the vanquished tribes. In fact, we are given only the approximate location of their habitat in the Don river basin. Nevertheless, a general observation can be made. In 1108 Monomakh and Oleg had formed marriage alliances with two Aepas. Three years later, when the princes

²⁵⁴ Baum., IV, 11; see below, p. 254.

came to the town of Sharukan', one chronicle calls it Osenev's town.²⁸⁵ Osen' was the father of that Aepa whose daughter married Monomakh's son Yury. If the chronicle information is correct, the inhabitants of that town were the ones who, in 1108, made peace with the princes. Since the latter did not attack Aepa's people in Sharukan', we may assume that they also did not go to war with the tribe of the other Aepa who was Svyatoslav's father-in-law. Only the enemy tribes were decimated or taken into bondage.

The victory was extremely successful. Chronicle silence concerning Polovtsian raids for the next fourteen years or so suggests that the tribesmen remained peaceful until after Monomakh's death (1125). Neither David nor Oleg were ever again called upon to fight them. Thus their co-operation with Svyatopolk and Monomakh after the congress of Lyubech enabled the princes of Rus' to effectively curtail the incursions of the Polovtsy for almost a decade and a half.

O. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

After the three Svyatoslavichi received Chernigov as their patrimonial domain they lived at peace with each other and with the other princes of Rus'. Unlike David Igorevich and Svyatopolk, they accepted the territorial allocations made at Lyubech. Their willingness to abide by the decrees of the congress meant that Oleg and his brothers were left in peace by Svyatopolk and Monomakh and were free to administer their domains without unwelcomed interference.

In 1097 David was designated the official prince of Chernigov. During the first few years following the congress, when the Svyatoslavichi needed a period of peace to secure control over their patrimony, his temperate nature stood them in good stead. Since Oleg lost control of Chernigov and was demoted in political rank, a prince more ambitious in nature than David could easily have provoked him and thrown the family into internecine strife. To judge from the available information, David made no unreasonable demands on his elder brother. Rather, he acknowledged Oleg as his co-ruler and co-operated with him at every turn. Concord between the brothers was demonstrated most dramatically by the fact that

²⁸⁵ Lav. col. 289.

they both had residences in Chernigov.²⁵⁶

Even though the Svyatoslavichi were relegated to the place of third political importance, they controlled the second most powerful town among the three families of the "inner circle." Chernigov was second in importance in southern Rus', a rival to Kiev itself.²⁵⁷ Granted, in 1097 it could not boast of an extensive architectural ensemble comparable to the one contained in Kiev where Yaroslav "the Wise" and his three sons Iziaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod had all built masonry churches, monasteries, and courts. All the same, Chernigov had at least two monastic institutions on the Boldiniy Hills, and on its citadel it contained the courts of Oleg, David, the magnificent Holy Saviour Cathedral, and the court of the bishop of Chernigov.

After the congress Oleg and David continued to cultivate friendly relations with church officials and monasteries in Chernigov and other towns. For example, the Svyatoslavichi and Monomakh co-operated with the metropolitan when he interceded on behalf of the Kievans after Svyatopolk attempted to flee from Rus'. As we shall see, Oleg and David built churches and established close ties with monastic houses in Chernigov and Kiev. After 1113, Bishop Feoktist, in addition to being the administrative head of the church in Chernigov and Murom, also served as the spiritual counsellor to David and his wife.

Although Feoktist was a close friend of David and Oleg, it is difficult to know whether his predecessor expressed the same loyalty to the Svyatoslavichi. When they assumed control of Chernigov after the congress of Lyubech, the local bishop was a certain Ioann who was appointed to the post by Vsevolod before 1086, when his son Monomakh was prince of the town. It is reasonable to assume that Ioann's first loyalty was to Vsevolod's family rather than to Svyatoslav's sons. However, we have no reason to believe that he was ill disposed to the Svyatoslavichi. Even if he was, Ioann was in no condition to create serious difficulties for them. When he

²⁵⁶ The chronicle does not state this specifically, but there can be no doubt that after 1097 David moved to Chernigov. As for Oleg, he probably died at his residence in Chernigov.

²⁵⁷ The chronicles make few references to Chernigov. However, s.a. 1111 they report that its podol, along with those in Kiev, Novgorod, and Smolensk was destroyed by fire (NPL, pp. 20, 203; Tver., col. 190). The cause of the fires or extent of the damage is not reported.

died on 23 November 1111 he had been bedridden for twenty five years during which time he had been unable to perform the sacred liturgy.²⁵⁸

Over a year elapsed before his successor was named. On 12 January 1113 Feoktist, the abbot of the Caves Monastery, was evidently consecrated in Kiev and appointed bishop of Chernigov. Seven days later, on 19 January, he was installed on the episcopal throne.²⁵⁹ The PVL offers no explanation for the delay in Feoktist's appointment. However, Svyatopolk died on 16 April. As we shall see, two years earlier Oleg had restored the church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod with Svyatopolk's permission but after the church was rebuilt he prohibited Oleg from consecrating it even though Oleg and David continued to entreat Svyatopolk until his death.²⁶⁰ It is not unreasonable to assume that Svyatopolk interfered with the appointment of the new bishop to Chernigov because of his dispute with the Svyatoslavichi over the church in Vyshgorod.²⁶¹

After reporting the installation of Feoktist in Chernigov, the chronicler makes a rare comment on happenings in the town by reporting the enthusiasm with which the bishop was received. He notes that Prince David and his wife welcomed Feoktist with great joy and he became their "spiritual father" (i.e., spiritual director). The prince, boyars, and all the citizens also rejoiced at his arrival because it meant that once again the eparchy would enjoy episcopal liturgies.²⁶² This appears to be one of the few passages which has survived from the chronicle compiled in Chernigov.

²⁵⁸ Concerning Ioann's death see Ipat., col. 273; NPL, pp. 20, 203; cf. s.a. 1112, Lav., col. 289; Berezikov, *Khronologiya*, p. 309, fn. 5. Concerning his infirmity see Ipat., col. 274.

²⁵⁹ See s.a. 1112, Ipat., col. 274; cf. s.a. 1113, Lav., col. 289.

²⁶⁰ For Svyatopolk's death, see Ipat., col. 275. See also Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 363, and below, p. 276.

²⁶¹ David and Oleg probably insisted on having Feoktist as bishop because, in 1108, he built the refectory (*trapeznia*) in the Caves Monastery commissioned by their eldest brother Gleb (see below, p. 251). It is also noteworthy that Feoktist was the last monk from the Caves Monastery who was made bishop for a long period. After Monomakh became prince of Kiev he preferred to select bishops from the monks living in his father's monastery at Vyduichi. One of his reasons, no doubt, was the close bond that existed between the Svyatoslavichi and the Caves Monastery (Priselkov, *Ocherki*, pp. 320-1).

²⁶² Ipat., col. 274.

Feoktist's administration was peaceful and he played a prominent role in the life of the Church in Chernigov and Rus' as a whole. In 1115 he stood in the place of second importance next to the metropolitan during the translation of the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb into the church Oleg rebuilt in Vyshgorod. Later in the same year he buried Oleg in the Holy Saviour Cathedral. It was he who undoubtedly consecrated the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris built by David in Chernigov. And, in 1123, he buried David whom he had served as "spiritual father" for ten years. Soon after, on 6 August, Bishop Feoktist himself died and, according to local tradition, is numbered among the saints of the Caves Monastery.²⁶³

Oleg's and David's co-operation with church officials is reflected in other undertakings as well. One of the more notable and talked about events in Rus' during the first decade of the twelfth century was the pilgrimage of Abbot Daniil to the Holy Land. Aside from the account (*Khozhdenie*) of the journey written by the monk himself, we have little information concerning the event. At some time between 1106 and 1108 he assembled the pilgrims, whom he calls "my sons of Rus'," in or around Chernigov. These included inhabitants of nearby Kiev as well as of distant Novgorod. He probably set off for Kursk and from there followed the route south to the Black Sea. Since Daniil evidently was abbot of a monastery in the environs of Chernigov, he must have obtained permission as well as financial assistance for the journey from the Svyatoslavichi.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Concerning his death see Lav., col. 293; Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 281-2. In 1979 a seal found on the right bank of the Desna (some 30 km from its mouth) has been attributed to Feoktist. The obverse has the image of the Mother of God; the reverse has the full figure of St. Feoktist holding the martyr's cross in his right hand. The name "Feoktist" is given on both sides of the figure in column form (D. B. Markov and A. A. Molchanov, "Pechatka chernihivskogo episkopa Feoktista [1113-1123]," *Druha chernihivska oblasna naukova konferentsiia z istorychnoho krakoznavstva* (hruden' 1988 r.) Tezy dopovidei, eds. O. B. Kovalenko et al., vyp. 2 [Chernihiv-Nizhyn, 1988], pp. 39-40).

²⁶⁴ On 6 January 1114 a certain Daniil was consecrated bishop of Yur'ev, a town south of Kiev on the river Ros' (Ipat., s.a. 1113, col. 277; Lav., s.a. 1114, col. 290; Berezikov, *Khronologiya*, p. 45). It has been suggested that this Daniil was the abbot who visited the Holy Land. Cf. Norov who claims Abbot Daniil returned from the Holy Land in the middle of 1115 and, therefore, he and the Daniil who became bishop of Yur'ev were not the same person ("Puteshestvie igumena Daniila, pp. v-vi). The name Daniil found on a graffito on one of the walls of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev has also been attributed to Abbot Daniil (Rybakov,

However, he also acted as the spiritual ambassador for all of Rus'. Daniil writes that he begged Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, to allow him to place a candle on the Holy Sepulchre for all the princes and Christians of Rus'. When he visited the monastery of St. Sava in Jerusalem he gave a stipend to the monks to commemorate all the princes of Rus' in their liturgies. To this end he entered the names of the princes into the monastery's *sinodik*. Since the abbot acted as the ambassador of all Rus' it is reasonable to assume that he received financial support from the other princely families as well. However, the initiative or, at any rate, the initial support for the pilgrimage must have come from Oleg and David. It has been suggested that they wished to popularize pilgrimages in the hope that the people of Rus' would come to venerate the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod where Oleg was rebuilding the stone church in their honour.²⁶⁵

It was undoubtedly the Svyatoslavichi who commissioned Daniil to provide a written account of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem.²⁶⁶ It is one of the major literary accounts of the period which has survived. David and Oleg must have encouraged scribes in their domains to write other religious and secular tracts such as prayers for the liturgy or the divine office, narrative accounts describing miracles, and lives of saints. The princes also commissioned works for special occasions such as the translation of the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb into the church rebuilt by Oleg, and the consecration of David's Church of SS. Gleb and Boris in Chernigov.²⁶⁷

The decade of Polovtsian wars witnessed an increase in the patronage of the Church by the princes and by their boyars. Before going off into the field of battle the wealthy men of Rus' often vowed to give benefactions to the Church if they returned safely. For example, in 1103 before the first major battle of the decade, the princes and boyars swore oaths before God and His Blessed Mother: some promised to give food

"Russkie datirovannye nadpisi," p. 22; Vysotsky, *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI-XIV vv.*, pp. 108-10).

²⁶⁵ "Puteshestvie igumena Daniila," pp. 139, 143; Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya' igumena Daniila," pp. 92-4; Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 113; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 353, 367.

²⁶⁶ It has been suggested that the work was written between 1106 and 1108 (Yanin, "Mezhduknyazheskie otnosheniya," p. 112).

²⁶⁷ See below, pp. 262f., 276f.; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 368-9.

and alms to the poor while others pledged to provide for the needs of monasteries.²⁶⁸

The princes of Rus' scored three notable victories against the Polovtsy during this period (viz. 1103, 1107, and 1111) and engaged them in many less important battles. We may assume that princes and boyars made pledges before each campaign. There were a number of religious institutions under the jurisdiction of the Svyatoslavichi which would have profited from such benefactions: the Holy Saviour Cathedral and the two monastic houses on the Boldiniy Hills in Chernigov, and, in Kiev, the patrimonial monastery of St. Simeon.

As prince of Chernigov David was probably involved in overseeing other projects including at least one in Kiev. Under the year 1108, when Feoktist the future bishop of Chernigov was still abbot, the refectory (*trapeznia*) of the Caves Monastery was completed. It was commissioned by a Prince Gleb whose patronymic is not given.²⁶⁹ He evidently was unable to supervise the completion of the structure for unexplained reasons.

One view has it, wrongly, that the prince in question was Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk.²⁷⁰ The Gleb who patronized the refectory was most likely the eldest brother of Oleg and David who died in 1078 as prince of

²⁶⁸ Ipat., col. 254; Lav., col. 278; cf. *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 105. We are not told the sums promised by the boyars. However, Nestor gives reports that Iziaslav's companion Kliment (the Christian name of Ratibor who later became Vsevolod's governor of Tmutarakan'), before setting off on a campaign, promised to give the Caves Monastery two grivny of gold if he returned alive (Yanin, *Aktovye pečati*, p. 63).

²⁶⁹ Ipat., col. 259; Lav., col. 283. Concerning archaeological excavations conducted on the site of the refectory see V. A. Kharlamov, "Raskopki drevnerusskoy trapeznoy Kiev-Pecherskogo monastyrya," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1984 goda* (M., 1986), pp. 320-1.

²⁷⁰ See, for example, Priselkov, *Očerki*, p. 316; Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya' igumena Daniila," p. 103; Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 145; Kharlamov, "Raskopki drevnerusskoy trapeznoy," p. 321. Four years before the refectory was completed (1104) Gleb Vseslavich had been at war with Svyatopolk and his allies. Gleb, it is true, was married to Svyatopolk's niece Anastasia (Baum, II, 5) but this was insufficient reason for Svyatopolk to give Gleb special privileges in Kiev. Besides, Svyatopolk was not on amicable terms with his nephews. Anastasia's brothers Yaroslav and Vyacheslav rebelled against him and evidently died as his prisoners (Ipat., s.a. 1102, cols. 251-2; s.a. 1104, col. 256). The sources at no time suggest that Gleb Vseslavich had a special affiliation with the Caves Monastery.

Novgorod.²⁷¹ Before Abbot Feodosy's death in 1074 Gleb visited the mon-astery with his father Svyatoslav. At that time Feodosy entrusted the mon-astery into Svyatoslav's care. Gleb witnessed the abbot's request and, as heir apparent to Svyatoslav must have confirmed his father's protection over the monastery. At that time he probably promised to build a new refectory just as, a short time earlier, his father helped to pay for the construction of the new church in the monastery. Owing to Gleb's premature death and the opposition the Svyatoslavichi encountered from the succeeding princes of Kiev, completion of the *trapeznia* was delayed until 1108.

The connection between the refectory and the princes of Chernigov is strengthened by the evidence that Feoktist, who was abbot of the mon-astery when the structure was built, later became bishop of Chernigov. Feoktist's consecration as bishop and appointment to Chernigov may have been his reward for building the *trapeznia*.

Let us now examine the little information we have concerning David's family. Although the sources tell us that his wife's name was Feodosia²⁷² they are silent concerning her origins. To judge from her name, however, she may have been a Greek. She and David evidently had five sons: Svyatoslav (Svyatosha), Rostislav, Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Izyaslav.²⁷³ If, as was suggested, Vsevolod the third eldest was born about

²⁷¹ See also Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, pp. 281-2.

²⁷² Zotov, pp. 37, 239, 258; Baum., IV, 3; Cf. G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und Theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus (988-1237)*, (Munchen, 1962), p. 332 who suggests, without giving chronicle evidence, that David was probably married a second time after 1100.

²⁷³ Since the chronicles fail to give the ages of the sons the order of seniority given here is the sequence in which the sons are first mentioned by the chronicles (cf. Zotov, pp. 261-2; Baum., IV, 7-11; Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," p. 242; Rapov, pp. 104-5). Solov'ev omits Izyaslav (*Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 [M., 1962] p. 737) and Dworzaczek omits Rostislav (*Genealogia*, Table 29). Hrushevsky lists only Svyatosha, Vladimir, and Izyaslav (*Ocherk*, Genealogical Table). Part of the confusion is created by sources which state that Svyatosha had only two brothers, Vladimir and Izyaslav (*Paterik Pecherskyi* pp. 113-4; *Slovo pokhval'noe*, pp. 17, 26-7). However, these sources are probably referring to Svyatosha and his surviving brothers in 1143, at the time of his death (P. V. Golubovsky, "Opyt priurocheniya drevne-russkoy propovedi 'Slovoo knyaz'yakh' k opredelennoy khronologicheskoy date," *Drevnosti: Trudy Arkheograficheskoy komissii Imperatorskago Moskovskago archeologicheskago obshchestva*, ed. M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, vol. 1, vyp. iii [M., 1899], col. 495).

1083,²⁷⁴ all the Davidovichi were mature men by the mid 1110s.²⁷⁵

There is also a paucity of information concerning the marriages of David's sons. From the four that are reported we see that, on the whole, David contracted politically useful alliances. Once he was designated the official ruler of Chernigov it became important for him to establish marital bonds with other princely families to obviate possible conflicts with them. To this end he concluded an alliance, perhaps soon after the congress at Lyubech, with the prince of Kiev. His eldest son Svyatosha married Svyatopolk's daughter. Before his death David evidently negotiated new alliances. Since Monomakh was prince of Kiev at that time, he contracted a marriage for Svyatosha's daughter with Monomakh's eldest grandson Vsevolod, the prince of Novgorod. Similarly, he arranged for Vsevolod, his eldest politically active son and future prince of Chernigov, to marry a Polish woman.²⁷⁶

The only Davidovich about whom we have any significant information for this period is Svyatosha. After he assisted Svyatopolk in the unsuccessful campaigns against David Igorevich and the Rostislavichi, he returned to his father in Chernigov. The information that David arranged for Svyatosha to marry Svyatopolk's daughter suggests that he was grooming his son to succeed him as head of the family.

The sobriquet Svyatosha can be translated as "Holy One" or "Holy Man."²⁷⁷ His name suggests that the prince preferred piety to politics.

²⁷⁴ See above, p. 167; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 355.

²⁷⁵ M. F. Mur'yanov suggests that Svyatosha was born around 1080 ("Svyatosha Nikola," *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch*, Vierzehnter Band (Graz-Wien-Köln, 1967/68), p. 88).

²⁷⁶ Svyatosha married Anna the daughter of Svyatopolk (Baum. IV, 7; Zotov, p. 261; Miloradovich, "Lyubech," p. 31; Mur'yanov, "Svyatosha Nikola," p. 91). In 1123 Svyatosha's daughter became the wife of Vsevolod (Baum. IV, 19, s.a. 1123, Tver., col. 193). David's son Vsevolod married in 1124, but we are not told if for the first time (Ipat., col. 288; cf. Baum., IV, 8; see Gust., p. 291 which erroneously says that in 1116 he married Agafia, the daughter of Monomakh). In 1144 Vladimir married a princess of Gorodno descended from Igor' of Vladimir; the wives of Rostislav and Izyaslav are unknown (Ipat., col. 317; Baum. IV, 9; Zotov, pp. 261-2).

²⁷⁷ Svyatosha is a diminutive form of Svyatoslav; however, in this instance the sobriquet may also be a derivative of the word *svyato* (holy, sacred) reflecting the prince's pious nature. It has been suggested that his baptismal name was Pankraty (Filaret, *Russkie svyatye*, p. 222; Mur'yanov, "Svyatosha Nikola," p. 88).

To be sure, he surprised his contemporaries by adopting an unprecedented course of action for a prince. Following the Greek practice, he evidently reached an agreement with his wife and renounced the world. On 17 February 1106 he became a monk in the Caves Monastery of Kiev where he remained for some thirty seven years until his death. He adopted the religious name Nikola.²⁷⁸

Svyatosha's decision was novel for it went counter to the age-old tradition of princely self-aggrandizement. It also had important repercussions for all the Davidovichi. On becoming a monk Svyatosha became politically dead, as it were, and seniority among the Davidovichi passed to his next eldest brother, Rostislav. Svyatosha's sons, if he had any, were debarred from succession to Chernigov because he would never rule that town. However, in 1106, these developments created no evident need for concern among the Davidovichi. Given the natural course of events, Svyatosha's withdrawal from political life would have had little effect on the fortunes of the David's family since he had four other sons who could succeed him.²⁷⁹

Turning to Oleg's family, the sources tell us nothing about his wife for the twenty years following the congress of Lyubech. The chronicler neglects to report even her death. We also have no way of knowing what ties, if any, Oleg maintained with her family in Greece after he moved from Tmutarakan'. Since the town fell into the emperor's hands, we may assume that Oleg was not forced to sever relations with Byzantium. The sources also tell us almost nothing about the early years of his sons. They report the existence of Vsevolod and Svyatoslav, but little else. Igor' and Gleb have yet to be mentioned by the sources.

There is a similar silence in the chronicles concerning the marriages of Oleg's sons. The PVL reports the marriage of only one Ol'govich. In 1107 Svyatoslav took to wife the daughter of the Polovtsian Khan Aepa, the son of Girgen. However, as Svyatoslav was the youngest Ol'govich, it is reasonable to assume that one or more of his elder brothers married before him.

Later we are told that Vsevolod's wife was Maria, the daughter of

²⁷⁸ Ipat., s.a. 1106, col. 258, fn. 30.

²⁷⁹ See Appendix 3.

Monomakh's eldest son Mstislav²⁸⁰ who defeated Oleg before the congress of Lyubech. The marriage was evidently arranged by Oleg and Monomakh in the spirit of brotherly love which Monomakh expressed in his letter to Oleg. In it, he stated the desire to establish an even closer bond of friendship than the one they had enjoyed in the past.²⁸¹ The marriage, which probably took place after the congress of 1097, not only revived that friendship, but also confirmed the political agreement. Indeed, there is reason to believe that it was at this time that both Oleg and David arranged marriages for their eldest sons with brides from the families of Monomakh and Svyatopolk. However, as Vsevolod and his father-in-law Mstislav were of the same generation, Maria was probably a child-bride and much younger than Vsevolod.

By the beginning of the twelfth century Vsevolod, the eldest Ol'govich, was in his middle or late teens. Therefore, he and his brothers were of age and could help Oleg to administer the lands of Novgorod-Severskiy. As we shall see elsewhere, chronicle evidence for the 1040s and later shows that Oleg allocated towns to his sons during this period. In the decades following his death, the ownership of these domains became an important source of conflict between the Ol'govichi and the Davidovichi, and then, among the Ol'govichi themselves.

In 1097 Oleg was designated co-ruler of Chernigov with David. In addition, he was allocated the newly created principality of Novgorod-Severskiy as his personal domain. His initial task was to organize the administration of his new capital. To judge from archaeological evidence, the fortifications around the citadel (*detinets*) were reinforced; the town's earthen wall and palisade were built around the beginning of the twelfth century. The work, it has been suggested, was commissioned by Oleg.²⁸² There is similar evidence to show that it was Oleg who reinforced the defensive structures around the settlements in the environs of Novgorod

²⁸⁰ Baum, IV, 12; cf. Zotov., pp. 262-3.

²⁸¹ See above, pp. 205-6; see also Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 176.

²⁸² Concerning archaeological excavations conducted on the site see V. P. Kovalenko, A. V. Kuza, A. P. Motsya, "Raboty Novgorod-Severskoy ekspeditsii," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1981 goda* (M., 1983), p. 269; see also V. P. Kovalenko, A. V. Kuza, A. P. Motsya, "Raboty Novgorod-Severskoy ekspeditsii," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1982 goda* (M., 1984), p. 272.

Severskiy²⁸³ This information suggests that Oleg asserted his rule over the indigenous peoples and secured the boundaries of his domain as defined at Lyubech.

The written sources tell us nothing about Novgorod Severskiy for this period; indeed, it has yet to be mentioned by them. Therefore, it is somewhat surprising to discover that Oleg made it the capital of his patrimony rather than, for example, the politically more important centers of Snovsk or Starodub. The latter was a strongly fortified town where, in 1096, Oleg sought refuge from his cousins. Nevertheless, it appears that Novgorod Severskiy was also an administrative center by the second half of the eleventh century. This is supported by the information that a seal attributed to Oleg's father Svyatoslav was found on the site. Indeed, archaeologists confirmed that the town was founded during the second half of the tenth century and a number of historians suggested it was one of the settlements fortified during the reign of Vladimir, the Christianizer of Rus'.²⁸⁴

It has been suggested that Oleg made Novgorod Severskiy the capital of his domain in order to more easily assert his rule over the older administrative centers in the region.²⁸⁵ Snovsk and Starodub were both controlled by well-established groups of boyars who, to a significant degree, could challenge the authority of the prince. In the relatively younger town of Novgorod Severskiy, however, the local aristocratic element was less significant.

Novgorod Severskiy was located some 110 miles northeast from Chernigov on the west bank of the Desna. The citadel, some two hectares in size, was located on the promontory overlooking the Desna. Except for the side facing the river, the entire town was surrounded by an earthen wall. The main suburb (*okol'niy grad*) was located south of the citadel. There

²⁸³ See, for example, the excavations conducted near the village of Gorbov (A. V. Grigor'ev, "Raskopki poseleniya X-XII vv. u s. Gorbova," *Arkhéologicheskie otkrytiya 1982 goda* [M., 1984], p. 254).

²⁸⁴ Kovalenko et al., "Raskopki v Novgorode-Severskom," (1980), p. 281; Kuza, "Vazhnesyshie goroda Rusi," p. 73.

²⁸⁵ A similar tactic was used at a later date by Monomakh's grandson Andrey Bogolyubskiy (d. 1174) who transferred his capital in the northeast from Suzdal' to the relatively unimportant town of Vladimir (Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 89).

were evidently three main gates: the Chernigov Gate, the Kursk Gate, and the Water Gate (*Vodyanyya vorota*) which led from the citadel down to the river.

We know little about the architectural ensemble of the citadel for this period. In addition to the prince's residence which was located in the northwest section of the citadel there was also a church. Given that Oleg was the first prince of the town, and given his zeal for constructing churches, we may assume that he built a new one. This observation is supported by archaeological evidence. The remains of a stone church dating from the first half of the twelfth century, presumably the Church of St. Michael mentioned by the chronicler under the year 1180, were unearthed in the eastern section of the citadel.²⁸⁶ According to local tradition the church, like the one in Chernigov, was built on the spot where the shrine of the main god was located in pagan times.²⁸⁷

Novgorod Severskiy assumed the same function for the Ol'govichi, as Chernigov did for the Svyatoslavichi, and Kiev did for the Yaroslavichi. As it was the capital of Oleg's patrimony, in principle, it could never become any prince's private domain. According to the system of lateral succession, it would be occupied by the eldest eligible Ol'govich.²⁸⁸

Because Oleg was the genealogically eldest Svyatoslavich and also the co-ruler of Chernigov, it is difficult to know what influence David, as the political head of the family, wielded over Novgorod Severskiy. Presumably, he refrained from interfering in Oleg's domestic affairs.

There was at least one instance when Oleg took part in a campaign

²⁸⁶ See s.a. 1178, *Ipat.*, col. 613; Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 195; Rappoport, "Iz istorii Kievo-chernigovskogo zodchestva XII v.," p. 61. It has been suggested that Oleg built the church in honour of his patron St. Michael (A. V. Kuza, V. P. Kovalenko, A. P. Motsya, "Chernigov i Novgorod-Severskiy v epokhu 'Slova o polku Igoreve'," *Chernigov i ego okrug v IX-XIII vv.* [K., 1988], p. 61; V. P. Kovalenko, A. P. Motsya, "Novgorod-Severskiy v X-XIII vv.," *Novgorodu-Severskomu—1000 let* [Chernigov-Novgorod-Severskiy, 1989], p. 26).

²⁸⁷ Kovalenko, et al., "Raskopki v Novgorode-Severskom," (M., 1980), p. 280; G. N. Logvin, *Chernigov, Novgorod-Severskiy, Glukhov, Putivl'* (M., 1965), pp. 123-75; Il'ovskiy, *Istoriya Rossii*, chast' 2, pp. 61-2.

²⁸⁸ There is no indication that this was stipulated by the princes at Lyubech. However, we may assume that they endorsed the practice of lateral succession generally recognized after Yaroslav's death for Kiev as the one to be followed on the local patrimonial level as well.

that effected him more as prince of Novgorod Severskiy than as co-ruler of Chernigov. The conflict occurred towards the end of the March year 6612 (i.e., 1104), that is between December of 1104 and February of 1105. At that time Svyatopolk dispatched his boyar Putyata and Monomakh sent his son Yaropolk against Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk. Oleg, however, went in person and took with him David Vseslavich of Polotsk. We are told that they returned home without accomplishing anything.²⁸⁹

It is difficult to determine the nature of the dispute. To judge from the account, the conflict arose between Svyatopolk and Gleb since the former initiated the attack. Furthermore, in 1102 Svyatopolk had a quarrel with his nephew Yaroslav Yaropolchich. He captured Yaroslav and threw him into prison in Kiev where he died.²⁹⁰ Two years later, on 13 December, Yaroslav's younger brother Vyacheslav also died.²⁹¹ The chronicler keeps his counsel, but it appears that Svyatopolk may have been implicated in his death as well. Significantly, the prince of Minsk was the brother-in-law of the two brothers,²⁹² and his domain lay adjacent to Svyatopolk's patrimony of Turov. Since Svyatopolk attacked Gleb soon after Vyacheslav's death, it may well be that the dispute was associated with the brothers' deaths. Gleb may have attempted to assert his control over the domains of his brothers-in-law.

Svyatopolk's allies, Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi, sent troops to help him subdue the meddlesome princeling. However, unlike Vladimir who merely dispatched a son, the princes of Chernigov were represented by Oleg, one of the co-rulers. There is evidence, albeit inconclusive, that before embarking on the campaign against Minsk, Oleg reached a special agreement with Svyatopolk and Monomakh. The information is provided by a graffito on a wall of St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. The inscription reads, "On 4 December, Svyatopolk, Vladimir, and Oleg concluded peace

²⁸⁹ Ipat., col. 256; Lav., col. 280. David's father Vseslav of Polotsk died on 14 April 1101 (Ipat., col. 250). At that time the lands of Polotsk were divided up among his sons who began waging war on each other. David became prince of Polotsk and Gleb occupied Minsk (Golovko, "Zemli zapadnoy Rusi i obedinitel'naya politika," p. 40).

²⁹⁰ See s.a. 1101 and 1102, Ipat., cols. 250-2; Lav., cols. 274-6.

²⁹¹ Ipat., col. 256; cf. Lav., col. 280.

²⁹² Baum, II, 5.

on [the river] Zhelan'.²⁹³ Although the inscription fails to state the year in which the princes concluded the pact, 1104 is most likely the correct one. This is supported by two facts: the information that the month in which the pact was made coincides with the date of the attack on Minsk, and the evidence that the river Zhelan', located on the western periphery of Kiev, was probably the spot where the troops assembled before they began their march north against Gleb.²⁹⁴

Significantly, the winter of 1104-05 was also the first occasion after Lyubech on which Oleg joined forces with his cousins. As we have seen, in 1103 he agreed to accompany them against the Polovtsy but then went separately by a different route. Therefore, in December 1104 when Oleg finally agreed to march with his cousins, both sides found it advisable to conclude a peace treaty. At long last Oleg was officially reconciled with Svyatopolk and Monomakh. An anonymous scribe thought the event to be sufficiently noteworthy to make a record of it on the cathedral wall in Kiev.

Since Oleg brought David of Polotsk it appears that the latter was Oleg's ally rather than Svyatopolk's ally. If this was the case the Svyatoslavichi, or more correctly Oleg, formed a separate pact with David. One possible explanation for this is that as prince of Novgorod Severskiy, Oleg had common interests with the prince of Polotsk. It has been suggested that in compensation for the territorial losses the princes imposed on Oleg at Lyubech, Svyatopolk gave him control of Sluchesk and perhaps Klechesk located to the south of Minsk.²⁹⁵ Therefore, it was to the common advantage of both Oleg and David to join forces against Gleb's expansionist tendencies.

Oleg may have cultivated friendly relations with the prince of Polotsk for other reasons as well. In 1103 the latter had accompanied the princes of Rus' against the Polovtsy. Even though Oleg went by a separate route, he was the one who most likely brought David on that occasion as well. This is supported by the observation that in the past Izyaslav,

²⁹³ S. A. Vysotsky, "Nadpisi v Sofii Kievskoy vremeni knyazheniya Svyatopolka Izyaslavicha," *Istoriya SSSR*, No. 6 (1960), pp. 139-43, and his *Drevne-russkie nadpisi Sofii Kievskoy XI-XIV vv.*, pp. 24-34.

²⁹⁴ Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," pp. 21-2.

²⁹⁵ See above, p. 220; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 109, and his "Do pytannia pro formuvannia terytorii," p. 52.

Vsevolod and their sons most often were on a war footing with the prince of Polotsk. Svyatoslav, however, had consistently fostered friendly ties with him.²⁹⁶ Oleg considered it expedient for the peaceful administration of his domain in Novgorod-Severskiy to follow his father's example.

In addition to protecting the political interests of Novgorod-Severskiy and in addition to promoting material culture in his private domain, Oleg also built churches and monasteries in other regions. It is noteworthy, for example, that the most grandiose structure he undertook to complete was located outside of the patrimonial domain of Chernigov.

Before his death Oleg's father began building a church in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod, but he died before it was completed. Later, probably in keeping with the promise he made either to Svyatoslav or to Oleg, Vsevolod finished the church but it collapsed on the very night it was completed.²⁹⁷ After Vsevolod's death in 1093 it lay in ruins for over a decade and a half. This was due, in part, to the military unrest in Rus': between the years 1094 and 1100 work on it was postponed because of inter-princely strife, and, after 1101 the princes had to contend with Polovtsian attacks. Finally, at some unspecified date in the first decade of the twelfth century, Svyatopolk gave Oleg permission to restore Vsevolod's collapsed edifice. The work was completed in 1111, two years before Svyatopolk's death.²⁹⁸

The three-nave church was modelled on the Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov and surpassed in size all known three-nave churches in Rus'. Unfortunately for Oleg, after allowing him to rebuild it, Svyatopolk refused to grant permission for its consecration because, we are told, he was jealous. Thus, the edifice remained unused during Svyatopolk's lifetime because Oleg was unsuccessful in persuading him to transfer the relics into it.²⁹⁹

The chronicle informs us that Oleg also patronized a monastery in Kiev. In 1147, after his son Igor' was murdered by the Kievans, Igor's men

²⁹⁶ See above, p. 89.

²⁹⁷ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 65-6; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 356. It has been suggested that the church was completed in the late 1070s (V. I. Dovzhenok, "Ohliad arkhеолоhichnoho vivchennia drevn'oho Vishhoroda za 1934-1935 rr.," *Arkhеолоhiia*, vol. 3 (K, 1950), p. 90), but this cannot be verified.

²⁹⁸ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 363.

²⁹⁹ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 363, 368.

took his body "to the end of the town," that is, to the suburb known as Kopyrev konets. There they buried it in St. Simeon, "the monastery of his father Oleg and his grandfather Svyatoslav"³⁰⁰ who probably founded the monastery before 1073 when he became prince of Kiev. Since it became Oleg's monastery after Svyatoslav's death, he also may have had a hand in its construction. We are not told. Oleg evidently inherited responsibility for the patrimonial institution when he became the senior prince of the family after the death of his elder brother Gleb.

Thus we see that as co-ruler of Chernigov Oleg patronized the Church in Novgorod Severskiy, in Vyshgorod, and in Kiev. However, the sources fail to tell us if he did the same in Chernigov. There is no written evidence that he constructed a church on the citadel,³⁰¹ but an examination of the sources suggests that he did patronize monastic institutions outside the town on the Boldiniy Hills.

The most important church in question is the Assumption Cathedral in the Eletskiy Monastery. As we have seen, popular tradition holds that, after the local inhabitants discovered the icon of the Mother of God, Svyatoslav founded the monastery and, presumably, built a church on that spot. However, historians propose that the stone cathedral was built after Svyatoslav's death, and suggest dates for its construction ranging from the end of the eleventh to the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰²

³⁰⁰ Ipat., col. 354. For the location of the monastery see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, pp. 54-7, no. 26.

³⁰¹ In 1986 archaeologists discovered the remains of a small masonry church in the citadel which, they suggest, served as a prince's private chapel or mausoleum. One view has it that the church was built between 1078 and 1094 by Monomakh (L. M. Bol'shakov, and V. P. Kovalenko, "Novyi pamiatnyk davn'orus'koho zodchestva XI st. v Chernihovi," *Druha chernihiv's'ka oblasna naukova konferentsiia z istorichnoho kraieznavstva* [hruden' 1988 r.] Tezy dopovidei, eds. O. B. Kovalenko et al., vyp. 2 [Chernihiv-Nizhyn, 1988], pp. 106-7). Since Monomakh recognized Chernigov as the patrimony of the Svyatoslavichi, it is unlikely that he would build a church in their domain. Also, if the church was a mausoleum, Monomakh had no reason to build one in Chernigov because there was little likelihood he would be buried there. The patron was most likely a member of Svyatoslav's family, perhaps Oleg.

³⁰² Rybakov, "Drevnosti Chernigova," p. 89; Aseev, "Stilisticheskie osobennosti chernigovskogo zodchestva," p. 139. See also E. V. Vorob'eva and A. A. Tits, "O datirovke Uspenskogo i Borisoglebskogo soborov v Chernigove," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya*, 2 (1974), pp. 98-9; N. V. Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issle-

Chernigov's architecture can be divided into a number of groups. Examples of the oldest group, from the second half of the eleventh century, are the Holy Saviour Cathedral and its baptistry. The next group includes the Church of St. Elias, the Assumption Cathedral, and the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris. The building techniques used for structures in this group show that they were erected between the end of the eleventh century and the 1140s.³⁰³ Investigators have also determined that the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris is the youngest of the three and commissioned by David before his death (1123).³⁰⁴ Accordingly, the Assumption Cathedral was probably erected between the time of Svyatoslav's death in 1076, and the last years of David's life. More specifically, it has been suggested that the church was built after the congress of Lyubech when the Svyatoslavichi regained possession of Chernigov.³⁰⁵

Having established the approximate dates of its construction, let us see if we can identify the patron of the church. After Svyatoslav's death Monomakh ruled Chernigov for over fifteen years. However, the princely signs found on the bricks used for building the cathedral show that the patron was a Svyatoslavich. Oleg was prince of Chernigov from 1094 until 1097; after the congress of Lyubech David became the official ruler. Thus, the one or the other could have built the Assumption Cathedral. However, the available evidence is weighted in favour of Oleg.³⁰⁶

dovanie Uspenskogo sobora Eletskego monastyrya v Chernigove," *Pamyatniki kul'tury, issledovanie i restavratsiya*, vol. 3 (M., 1961), p. 61.

³⁰³ Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Uspenskogo sobora," p. 63; P. A. Rappoport, "O datirovke pamyatnikov Kievo-chernigovskogo zodchestva XII-XIII vv.," *Istoriko-arkheologicheskii seminar "Chernigov i ego okrug"* v IX-XIII vv., (15-18 aprelya 1985 g.) Tezisy dokladov (Chernigov, 1985), p. 12. Cf. V. P. Kovalenko and P. A. Rappoport, "Pamyatniki drevnerusskoy arkitektury v Chernigovo-Severskoy zemle," *Zograf* 18 (Beograd, 1987), pp. 9-10.

³⁰⁴ Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Uspenskogo sobora," p. 65, and his "Il'inskaya tserkov' v Chernigove," p. 97; Rappoport, *Russkaya arkhitura*, p. 41.

³⁰⁵ P. A. Rappoport, "Iz istorii Kievo-chernigovskogo zodchestva XII v.," *KSDPIIA*, 179 (1984), p. 61; see also R. S. Orlov, "Belokamennaya rez'ba drevnerusskogo Chernigova," *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi*, gen. ed., P. P. Tolochko (K., 1990), p. 31.

³⁰⁶ Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Uspenskogo sobora," pp. 55, 65-7. Concerning the ownership symbol which has been attributed to Oleg see Rybakov, "Znaki sobstvennosti," pp. 233, 245, and fig. 10.

It has been suggested that the new school of architecture which appeared in Chernigov at the turn of the twelfth century was introduced by Oleg. He was inevitably exposed to Greek architectural influences during his four years of exile, notably, on the island of Rhodes. After occupying Chernigov he used his wife's Byzantine connection to bring architects to Rus'.³⁰⁷

Furthermore, in 1094, when Oleg attacked Monomakh, the chronicler reported that he allowed the Polovtsy to pillage the environs of Chernigov including the monasteries. There can be no doubt that the patrimonial Elets'kiy Monastery was the main victim.³⁰⁸ After Oleg gained control of the town it is reasonable to assume that he wished to repair the damage the Polovtsy inflicted on the monastery and to make reparation for the sacrilege. He did this by commissioning the construction of a new masonry cathedral to replace the wooden one his father Svyatoslav probably erected when he founded the monastery.³⁰⁹

The similarity in style and materials used for the construction of the Assumption Cathedral and the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris is well established. It appears that craftsmen who worked on the former also helped to build the latter. Thus we see another example of the way in which the co-rulers of Chernigov collaborated in their administration of the town. We have no way of knowing when Oleg's church was completed or when David began work on his monument. Given Oleg's political plight be-

³⁰⁷ Rappoport, "Iz istorii Kievo-chernigovskogo zodchestva XII v.," p. 62.

³⁰⁸ In 1982 the remains of a masonry church were discovered on the escarpment overlooking the right bank of the Desna between the Elets'kiy and Trinity monasteries. (V. A. Shekun, and G. A. Kuznetsov, "Raboty v Chernigove," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1982 goda* [M., 1984], p. 343). It was later established that the church was built towards the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, and that it belonged to an unidentified monastery on the outskirts of Chernigov (V. P. Kovalenko, "Issledovaniya v Chernigove," *Arkheologicheskie otkrytiya 1984 goda* [M., 1986], p. 246). Although the church may have been constructed at a later date, the monastery itself could have been in existence at the beginning of the twelfth century. That is, it may have been one of the ones pillaged in 1094 by the Polovtsy.

³⁰⁹ It has been suggested that the church was built in the 1110s under the patronage of Svyatosha who was a monk in the Caves Monastery at that time (Voro'b'eva and Tits, "O datirovke Uspenskogo i Borisoglebskogo soborov," pp. 100-2, 104-5). There is no evidence that Svyatosha had any association, political or religious, with the Elets'kiy Monastery.

tween 1095 and 1097, the Assumption Cathedral was probably finished after the congress. David most likely began work on his project either after 1111 when Oleg completed the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod, or after 1115 when the martyrs' relics were transferred into it.

We may conclude that after 1094 Oleg, as the genealogically eldest prince of the Svyatoslavichi, became the patron of his father's Elets'kiy Monastery. When David became the official ruler of Chernigov in 1097, Oleg remained patron of the patrimonial institution just as he remained the patron of St. Simeon's Monastery in Kiev. After he was named prince of Chernigov, however, David also wished to erect a monument. To reflect his new political status he chose to build it in the administrative heart of the capital, the citadel. He hired craftsmen who had worked for Oleg on the Assumption Cathedral and dedicated his church to SS. Gleb and Boris in imitation of Oleg's project in Vyshgorod.³¹⁰

Oleg modelled the Assumption Cathedral on the Church of the Assumption in the Caves Monastery which his father had helped to build. It was cruciform in plan with three naves, three apses, and six pillars. Investigators cannot agree whether it had one or three domes. Tambours were built in front of its three entrances. The narthex had a baptistry in the southeast part and burial niches in the walls; choirs containing private chapels were located above it. Bricks, slate slabs, and multicolored glazed ceramic tiles covered the floor; frescoes decorated the walls. The dimensions of the cathedral were like those of the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris.³¹¹

Investigators believe that the Assumption Cathedral was the first church built in the style of the so-called Chernigov School of Architecture. Later, many churches were modelled on it. Its "twin," for example, was the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Ryazan' (today Staraya Ryazan') built in the late twelfth century. Additional examples of edifices influenced by its style are, as noted above, the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris in Chernigov,

³¹⁰ Vorob'eva and Tits, "O datirovke Uspenskogo i Borisoglebskogo soborov," pp. 105-6, 108.

³¹¹ Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Uspenskogo sobora," pp. 59-61; Mezentshev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," pp. 377-8; Voronin, "Zodchestvo Kievskoy Rusi," p. 144. See also I. Sh. Shevelev, "Proportsii i kompozitsiya Uspenskoy Elets'koy tserkvi v Chernigove" *Arkhiturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 19 (M., 1972), pp. 32-42.

and the mid-twelfth century church of St. Cyril in Kiev.³¹² Thus we see that Oleg's patronage of the Church in Chernigov, in addition to its religious significance, was also important for cultural reasons. The style of his church was copied in other parts of Rus' including in the distant domain of his youngest brother Yaroslav.

The latter occupied Murom after the Lyubech agreement. Before that time, owing to his youth and absence from Rus', he played an insignificant part in the politics of Chernigov. The first reference to him is made under 1096 when he helped Oleg fight Mstislav in the Rostov lands. After the congress he was relegated to the eastern-most territory of Chernigov where distance precluded him from effectively participating in political events centred on Kiev. However, owing to the sparsity of chronicle information, it is difficult to determine the success of his rule in Murom itself and the identity of his patrimonial domain. Later evidence suggests that the latter was not Murom. We shall see that after the congress, Murom, like Chernigov, remained part of the family's common patrimony. In effect, it would serve as the stepping-stone to Chernigov.

The lands of Murom were surrounded, in the main, by hostile peoples. To the east and south lived the Mordva, the Volga Bulgars, and the Polovtsy.³¹³ To the north lay the territory of Rostov-Suzdal' which was subject to Monomakh. In 1096 when Yaroslav helped Oleg fight against the inhabitants of this region, his action undoubtedly set the stage for the future animosity that existed between Rostov-Suzdal' and Murom. As a result, Yaroslav could seek military assistance only from the west, that is, from his brothers David and Oleg, and from the prince of Kiev. No matter how willing these princes may be to help him, the great distance which separated Murom from Chernigov made the effectiveness of his brothers' assistance unreliable. For the same reason, it was inadvisable for

³¹² Kholostenko, "Arkhiturno-arkheologicheskoe issledovanie Uspenskogo sobora," p. 58, and his "Il'inskaya tserkov' v Chernigove," p. 97; Rappoport, "Iz istorii Kievo-chernigovskogo zodchestva XII v.," p. 61; Aseev, "Stilisticheskie osobennosti chernigovskogo zodchestva," p. 139. See also G. K. Vagner, "Arkhiturnye fragmenty Staroy Ryazani," *Arkhiturnoe nasledstvo*, vol. 15 (M., 1963), pp. 18-24.

³¹³ The Volga Bulgars captured Murom in 1088 (Ipat., col. 199; Lav., col. 207). The Mordva defeated Yaroslav on 4 March 1104 (see s.a. 1103, Ipat., col. 256; Lav., col. 280). The chronicles make no references to Polovtsian attacks for this period.

Yaroslav to become involved in the politics of Kiev. It would be foolish for him to take part in military engagements in the Dnepr region when his presence was needed in Murom to stave off enemy attacks from the east and south.

This did not mean that Murom was completely cut off from life in the "kernel" of Rus'. Ecclesiastically and culturally it continued to maintain close links with it, especially, with Chernigov. On the one hand, the Christians of Rus' looked towards Murom with great respect because of its religious heritage. Its claim to fame among the faithful was its identification with St. Gleb who was prince of the town before his martyrdom. On the other hand, the Church of Murom was under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chernigov. This association fostered religious and cultural exchanges between the two regions. Clergy and religious books needed by the churches of Murom were supplied, in large part, by Chernigov. Churches built in Ryazan' were also modelled on those in Chernigov.³¹⁴ To judge from the examples of his father and brothers, Yaroslav may have commissioned one or a number of them.

The sources tell us little about Yaroslav's personal history and that of his family. The date of his birth is unknown, but his baptismal name was Pankraty. He was born of Svyatoslav's second wife Oda and therefore was considerably younger than his half-brothers. This is illustrated on the family "portrait" found in his father's *Izbornik* of 1073 which depicts Yaroslav as a small boy in contrast to his half-brothers who are of full stature and whiskered or bearded. After his father's death in 1076, Yaroslav evidently accompanied his mother to her native Saxony. The duration of his stay is unknown, but he returned before 1096 because in that year he fought at the side of his elder brother Oleg.³¹⁵

Despite his sojourn in the German lands Yaroslav's political fortunes were tied to those of his family in Chernigov. Therefore, we may assume that Oleg arranged his marriage. In all likelihood this happened during or after the congress of Lyubech at the same time that Oleg and David contracted marriage alliances for their eldest sons Vsevolod and Svyatosha. Just as they selected brides for their sons from Svyatopolk's and Monomakh's families, it is reasonable to assume that they chose Yaroslav's wife

³¹⁴ See above, p. 264.

³¹⁵ Zotov, p. 259; see above, p. 202, and Frontispiece.

from among the other families of princes who attended the *snem*. According to available chronicle information, however, Yaroslav married none of the daughters of Svyatopolk, Monomakh, the Igorevichi or the Rostislavichi that are known to us.³¹⁶

The only remaining princely family in Rus' was that of the Izyaslavichi of Polotsk; but there is no record of Vseslav's daughters. If he had any Yaroslav's wife may have been one of these.³¹⁷ If she was not from Polotsk then she may have come from the Poles or one of the Polovtsian tribes. Although we can only guess at her identity the chronicler does report that, in 1124, she died.³¹⁸ Yaroslav had three sons: Svyatoslav, Rostislav, and Yury. The sources record neither the dates of their births nor the names of their spouses.³¹⁹

We will investigate the activities of Yaroslav and his sons only for the period that his family remained part of the political structure of the House of Svyatoslav, that is, for as long as the princes of Murom retained a legitimate claim to rule from Svyatoslav's throne. After Murom became politically independent of Chernigov we will exclude them from our investigation proper.

P. KIEV DENIED

The year 1113 was ushered in by portents in the sun and the moon. These, the chronicler explains, foreshadowed the death of the prince of Kiev. On 16 April after Svyatopolk celebrated the Easter liturgy at Vyshgorod, he became ill and died. His body was placed in a boat, brought to Kiev, and laid to rest in the Church of St. Michael which he himself had built.³²⁰

The following day the Kievans assembled in council and invited Monomakh to become their prince. He refused to come because, the chroni-

³¹⁶ Baum, II, V, VII, and III.

³¹⁷ Baum, VIII.

³¹⁸ Ipat., col. 288.

³¹⁹ Baum, IV, 16-18; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 30; cf. Rapov, who erroneously adds a fourth son named Vladimir (pp. 108-9), and Solov'ev who gives the names of the four sons as Svyatoslav, David, Igor', and Rostislav (*Istoriya rossii*, vol. 2 (M., 1962), p. 738).

³²⁰ Under the year 1108 the chronicler reports that Svyatopolk founded the so-called "Golden-Domed" (*Zlatoverkhaya*) church of St. Michael (Ipat., col. 259, PC, p. 187, fn. 380).

cler reports ambiguously, he mourned the passing of his "brother." As a result riots broke out in Kiev: the crowds ransacked the court of the militia commander (*tysyatskiy*) Putyata and plundered the homes of the Jews.³²¹ Then the townsmen repeated their invitation to Monomakh with the warning that, if he refused, the pillaging would be intensified and neither his step-mother, the boyars, nor the monasteries would be spared. And he, they declared, would be responsible for the unrest. It was only under duress, or so the scribe would have us believe, that Monomakh came to Kiev on 20 April and sat on "the throne of his father and forefathers."

When the Polovtsy heard of Svyatopolk's death they took advantage of the period of transition and invaded Rus'. Monomakh summoned his sons and marched against them. At the river Vyr', a tributary of the Seym, he was joined by Oleg. On learning of their arrival the Polovtsy fled.³²²

Monomakh's occupation of Kiev was a milestone in the history of Rus'. After that time he and his descendants would play a dominant role in the politics of Kiev. Therefore, it will be useful to examine the nature of his accession. Let us first determine, if possible, the identity of Svyatopolk's rightful successor. The answer was not straightforward either for the princes or the Kievans. According to the order of succession allegedly envisaged by Yaroslav "the Wise," the rightful successor to his throne was always his genealogically eldest eligible descendant. Since Svyatopolk had no younger surviving brother, succession passed from his family to the genealogically eldest prince in the House of Svyatoslav, that is, to Oleg. He was also eligible to rule Kiev because it had been the throne of his father Svyatoslav. Accordingly, Monomakh had no legal claim to succeed Svyatopolk.³²³

³²¹ It has been suggested that Putyata was a supporter of the Svyatoslavichi (Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy*, p. 123). Putyata had been one of Svyatopolk's staunchest supporters. In 1104, as we have seen, Svyatopolk placed him in command of his troops when he declared war on Gleb of Minsk. Putyata may have changed his allegiance after that date.

³²² Ipat., cols. 274-6; Gust., p. 289; Mosk., p. 27; cf. s.a. 1114, Lav., cols. 289-90. Cf. Tat. who claims that David rather than Oleg joined Monomakh at the Vyr' (2, p. 129; 4, p. 180).

³²³ See also Illovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii*, p. 141. One view has it that David had a prior claim to Oleg (see, for example, Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," p. 242, and Rapov, p. 208). Cf. Hrushevsky who says that according to the Lyubech agreement Kiev belonged to Izyaslav's family, therefore Yaroslav, Svyatopolk's

After Yaroslav's death, however, a number of irregularities crept into his arrangement. Because Svyatoslav seized control of Kiev his sons were assured the right to rule from "the throne of their father" (i.e., Kiev). The process became more complicated when Izyaslav reoccupied Kiev after Svyatoslav's death and thereby reinstated, as it were, the order of succession inaugurated by Yaroslav. Accordingly, after Izyaslav's death his only surviving brother Vsevolod would succeed him. Because Svyatoslav predeceased Izyaslav it could be argued that his sons became *izgoi*, or, that Monomakh's claim to Kiev superseded theirs. The reason for this was that his father Vsevolod succeeded Izyaslav peacefully according to the natural order of genealogical progression rather than through usurpation like Svyatoslav.

This meant that the validity of Svyatoslav's rule in Kiev and the right of his sons to occupy the throne could be questioned. Significantly, the chronicler never challenged either claim. However, his silence may have stemmed from the consideration that before 1113 the succession of the Svyatoslavichi was never an immediate possibility. Vsevolod was the obvious replacement for Izyaslav. After Vsevolod died his successor, Izyaslav's son Svyatopolk, was also easily identified. The problem arose only after Svyatopolk's death because the princes of Rus' found themselves in an unprecedented situation. The claims of both "legitimate" candidates, Oleg and Monomakh, could be challenged. To make matters worse the issue became even more complex after the congress at Lyubech.

In 1097 the princes of Rus' redefined the relationship between genealogical and political seniority. As has been suggested, one of the penalties they imposed on the Svyatoslavichi for Oleg's insubordination was to demote them below Monomakh in the order of political importance. What is more, they relegated the genealogically eldest Svyatoslavich, Oleg, to a place of second importance after David. According to this designation Oleg, the genealogically eldest successor to Svyatopolk, was debarred. Who then had the greater claim to replace Svyatopolk: David, the newly appointed political head of the Svyatoslavichi, or Monomakh, who now assumed a position of political seniority over the Svyatoslavichi?

The information that Monomakh refused to occupy Kiev after he was

eldest surviving son was his rightful successor (*Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 109 and his *Ocherk*, pp. 122-3). For a discussion of the views presented by different historians see Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, pp. 105-7.

invited the first time supports the observation that he was uncertain of the validity of his claim. To be sure, in 1113 his unwillingness was like his procrastination after his father's death. In 1093 Monomakh had reasoned that if he occupied Kiev ahead of Svyatopolk he would have to go to war with his cousin because Svyatopolk's father ruled Kiev before his own. In 1113 the situation was similar: Svyatoslav ruled Kiev before Vsevolod, accordingly, the Svyatoslavichi had the prior claim. Monomakh may also have hesitated to displace the Svyatoslavichi for personal reasons. As we have seen, in his letter to Oleg, Monomakh placed much weight on their friendship. He beseeched Oleg to become reconciled so that they could rekindle it with even greater fervour. After the congress of Lyubech the cousins did renew their friendship and formed a new marriage alliance. In 1113, therefore, Monomakh realized that his occupation of Kiev could undermine this personal bond which he had fought so hard to restore.

Despite the reservations Monomakh had concerning his claim, the PVL does not report that the Svyatoslavichi made any effort to take advantage of his doubts to assert their own claim. David, the official ruler of the House of Svyatoslav, was a peace-loving man. He had little if any political ambition and was not interested in asserting his rule over Kiev. It comes as no surprise to learn that he played no effective part in the succession crisis.

Of even greater importance is the information that Oleg responded to Monomakh's summons and joined him against the Polovtsy. Oleg's collaboration with the new prince of Kiev shows that he pledged his allegiance to Monomakh immediately. He had no intention of challenging his cousin's authority.³²⁴ Indeed, Oleg would have been foolhardy to attack Monomakh. By doing so he would have thrown himself into another full-scale war even more hopeless than the first. Oleg's domain of Novgorod Severskiy was surrounded by those of Vladimir and his sons (viz. Pereyaslavl', Smolensk, Novgorod, and Rostov-Suzdal'). The Kievans, to judge from the overwhelming support they gave to Monomakh, would also have opposed Oleg's occupation of their town. What is more, the prince was no longer the energetic campaigner he had been in the past;

³²⁴ Cf. Tat. who alone claims Oleg attempted to seize Kiev from Monomakh (2, p. 130; 4, p. 180). An examination of his information reveals that Tat. misplaced information from the year 1096.

Oleg was in his declining years since, as we shall see, he died two years later. Finally, his personal and marriage bonds with Monomakh's family would also have helped to dissuade Oleg from waging war against his cousin.

Whatever their reasons, Monomakh and the Svyatoslavichi were both reluctant to occupy Kiev. The question of succession was finally resolved for them by the Kievans. In 1068 they had already acted as "king makers" by expelling Izyaslav and appointing Vseslav of Polotsk as prince. In 1113 they adopted a similar course of action. On this occasion, however, they were fortified with the knowledge that the Novgorodians had also selected their prince in opposition to the prince of Kiev.³²⁵

We are told that the Kievans threatened Monomakh with reprisals against his relatives (step-mother), supporters (boyars), and possessions (monasteries) if he refused to accept their summons. The chronicler evidently wished to exonerate the prince from any charges of usurpation; he placed Monomakh in a positive light by reporting that the townsmen coerced him into occupying Kiev. All the same, there is the added consideration that the princes of Rus' were in a quandary as to who was the rightful successor, and the Kievans' intervention can be looked upon as a *deus ex machina*. Given the dilemma as to who had the greater claim, David or Monomakh, given the threat of Polovtsian attacks, and given the "curriculum vitae" of the two candidates, the hard-nosed Kievans prudently decided to throw in their lot with the veteran campaigner rather than with the pious prince.³²⁶

The intervention of the Kievans was of cardinal importance to the future history of Rus'. By selecting Monomakh they altered the order of succession advocated by Yaroslav. As it turned out, the two Svyatoslavichi forfeited the chance of ever occupying Kiev. Monomakh outlived both David and Oleg. As a result, the Davidovichi and the Ol'govichi were

³²⁵ In 1102 Svyatopolk and Monomakh decided that the latter's son Mstislav would relinquish control of Novgorod to Svyatopolk's son. The Novgorodians rebelled, kept Mstislav as prince, and threatened to kill Svyatopolk's son if he came to Novgorod (see above, p. 182).

³²⁶ It has been suggested by historians that Oleg, and by association his family, was unpopular with the Kievans because of his past association with the Polovtsy (e.g., Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii*, p. 141). Another view has it that he was unpopular because he offended the Kievans in 1095 when he called them peasants (*smerdy*), (Mavrodin, *Narodnye vosstaniya v drevney Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, p. 73).

debarred, and the right of succession that Svyatoslav had obtained for his descendants by capturing Kiev in 1073 had been for naught.

Later evidence suggests that about this time Oleg formally renounced all rights of succession to Kiev for his descendants. When Monomakh occupied Kiev, or, at a later date, he confirmed this with the Kievans. They decreed that, in the future, only his descendants would have the right to sit on the throne of Kiev.³²⁷ The Svyatoslavichi and Izyaslavichi were debarred.

As we shall see, on occasion the Svyatoslavichi would rule Kiev, but no prince of the House of Izyaslav ever again sat on Yaroslav's throne. Ironically, the periodic triumphs that the Svyatoslavichi (i.e., the Ol'govichi) achieved against the Monomashichi would be the result, at least in part, of the amicable ties that existed between Oleg and Vladimir. Their spirit of friendship evidently percolated, albeit haphazardly, down to the succeeding generations of their descendants.

The special bond between the two princes survived to the end of their lives, but, in the field of battle it was last demonstrated in 1113 after Monomakh occupied Kiev. At first glance, the expedition against the Polovtsy on the river Vyr' appears to be nothing more than a routine punitive exercise. In the eyes of the princes, however, it was more.

The chronicler gives us the barest of details concerning the event. He states that Monomakh, accompanied by his sons and grandsons, went to the Vyr' and joined forces with Oleg but we are not told who summoned whom. However, the region of the Vyr' was in the principality of Chernigov and served as the boundary between the personal domains of Oleg and David. Therefore, the Polovtsy were evidently ravaging the lands of the Svyatoslavichi. To judge from Oleg's presence in the area it may well have been he who summoned the new prince of Kiev to his assistance. Monomakh responded immediately by marshalling his entire family. He wished to demonstrate to Oleg his determination to keep out the Polovtsy. Even more important, he wished to cultivate the loyalty of the Svyatoslavichi by helping them in his new capacity as prince of Kiev.

³²⁷ Concerning Monomakh's pact with the Kievans, see below, pp. 277-8. Cf. Solov'ev who suggests that the bitter rivalries that would erupt between the descendants of Svyatoslav and Vsevolod in the future had their origin in 1113, when Monomakh pre-empted the right of succession to Kiev from the Svyatoslavichi (*Istoriya otnosheniy*, p. 124).

An additional observation can be made. This was Monomakh's first campaign as prince of Kiev. However, only one prince not of his family is singled out as accompanying him, namely, Oleg. This fact is noteworthy because David, not Oleg, was the political head of the Svyatoslavichi. It was David's duty, we may assume, to oversee the defense of the Svyatoslavichi lands and to demonstrate his family's fealty to the new prince of Kiev by accompanying him on his inaugural expedition, as it were. Thus, despite Oleg's official demotion at Lyubech, the fact that he represented the House of Svyatoslav on this highly symbolic campaign suggests that, to all intents and purposes, he remained the *de facto* head of the Svyatoslavichi. The military engagement was also interesting from another point of view: it was to be Oleg's and Monomakh's last joint campaign.

Even though the princes demonstrated no overt disagreement over the question of succession, we are told that the Kievars rioted after Svyatopolk's death. The popular unrest was evidently not a dispute over princely candidacy. The townsmen, insofar as it can be determined from the available information, agreed in their choice of prince. Rather, they vented their anger against Svyatopolk's erstwhile henchmen, his officials and the Jews, who had been the instruments of his extortion policies.³²⁸

After occupying Kiev, Monomakh quickly assembled the main civic officials of southern Rus' to deal with the causes of the riots. In the so-called "Statute (*Ustav*) of Vladimir Monomakh" we are told that he summoned his *druzhina* to the village of Berestovo near the Caves Monastery. Those in attendance included Ratibor the *tysyatskiy* of Kiev, Prokopy the *tysyatskiy* of Belgorod, Stanislav the *tysyatskiy* of Pereyaslavl', Nazhir, Miroslov, and Oleg's man Ivanko Chudinovich.³²⁹ They issued a new statute concerning loans at interest, which was incorporated into Yaroslav's "Russian Law" (*Pravda Rus'skaya*).

Historians disagree on the exact nature or purpose of this statute. However, it appears that Monomakh's main objective was to protect the people from money-lenders by stopping abuses connected with loans. He also attempted to safeguard men of influence such as boyars, merchants, and artisans from incurring losses like the ones they suffered in the

³²⁸ For a discussion of the popular unrest see Mavrodin, *Narodnye vosstaniya v drevney Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, p. 72.

³²⁹ NPL, pp. 493-507.

disturbances after Svyatopolk's death.³³⁰

A number of observations should be made. It is noteworthy, for example, that the officials attending the meeting were representatives of towns in the principalities of Kiev and Pereyaslavl'. Oleg's deputy, Ivanko, represented the third principality from the "kernel" of Rus', Chernigov. This indicates that Monomakh's statute was applicable to all the towns of southern Rus', or, to put it in another way, to all the towns governed by the Yaroslavichi. Chernigov's participation in the deliberations, therefore, shows that the town and its princes acknowledged Monomakh's rule in Kiev and pledged him their loyalty.

Moreover, Oleg's delegate was Ivanko, the son of a certain Chudin. Under the year 1072, after reporting the translation ceremony of SS. Boris and Gleb, the chronicle notes that the *posadnik* of Vyshgorod was named Chudin.³³¹ If the Ivanko in question was his son, as was likely the case, then we may presume that Svyatoslav and his sons had a special relationship with the family of the main official of Vyshgorod.³³² Furthermore, if Chudin was a native of Vyshgorod, as was probably the case, it is interesting to note that his son was an official in Chernigov. Indeed, to judge from the information that most of the other delegates who came to Berestovo were the military commanders of their town militias, Ivanko, similar to them, was probably the *tysyatskiy* of Chernigov. This information is significant for it reveals that a close political bond existed between the princes of Chernigov and certain boyars of Vyshgorod, even though the latter was under the jurisdiction of Kiev.

It is also interesting to note that, once again, Oleg rather than David is singled out as acting on behalf of Chernigov. Although David was the

³³⁰ Vernadsky, *Medieval Russian Laws*, pp. 15, 43-56; Obolensky, "Vladimir Monomakh," p. 100; Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiya monografii*, pp. 162-3; Mavrodin, *Narodnye vosstaniya v drevney Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, pp. 75-8; Monomakh may have passed the statute even before occupying Kiev to judge from the information that he held the meeting on the outskirts of Kiev (Tikhomirov, *Krest'yanskie i gorodskie vosstaniya na Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, p. 142).

³³¹ Ipat., col. 172; Lav., col. 182.

³³² Cf. under the year 1078 where we are told that Tuky, Chudin's brother, was killed by the river Szhitsa when Oleg and Boris attacked Chernigov (Ipat., col. 191; Lav., col. 200). Tuky was evidently a member of Vsevolod's *druzhina*. This information shows that different members of the same boyar family were free to offer their services to the prince of their choice.

official prince of Chernigov after the congress, in 1113 it is Oleg who sent his man to represent the interests of the Chernigovans at Berestovo. This is additional evidence in support of the observation that Oleg retained a degree of political authority, that is, he was co-ruler of Chernigov. Moreover, if, as we believe, Chudin of Vyshgorod was Svyatoslav's ally, it is significant to note that his son Ivanko became Oleg's man rather than David's man. This association shows that just as Chudin served the head of the House of Chernigov, his son Ivanko also served the genealogically eldest prince of the family.

One source has unique information concerning the princes' treatment of a specific group of money-lenders, the Jews. We are told that soon after Monomakh moved to Kiev the citizens came to him, levied many accusations against the Jews, and demanded that he kill them all. The prince explained he was unable to issue an edict for all Rus' unilaterally. He summoned the princes of Rus' to a council and it decreed that all Jews were to be expelled from Rus'. After that, we are told, the people drove the Jews out of their towns, killed many, and pillaged their homes.³³³

The account is of interest to us, in the main, because of the method the princes used to promulgate legislation for all Rus'. In this instance they acted through a council, similar to the ones at Lyubech (1097) and Uvetichi (1100). According to Yaroslav's "testament" his descendants were expected to deliberate together on general issues. Therefore, Monomakh's action demonstrates that on matters of common concern he was willing to defer to the will of all the Yaroslavichi assembled in council. All the same, it could also be argued that he was still unsure of the loyalty of the other princely families. He therefore attempted to ingratiate himself with them, in particular with the Svyatoslavichi, by demonstrating that he refused to enact legislation for all the princes without consulting them first.

³³³ Tat. 4, p. 180; 2, p. 129. Since Tat. has this unique information in both editions of his text it appears that he obtained it from a source now lost. There is no reason to suspect that he fabricated the information which corresponds with the tenor of the chronicle account describing Monomakh's concern to correct abuses related to loans.

Q. OLEG'S TRIUMPH

In 1115 the inhabitants of Rus' attended a religious celebration in Vyshgorod the likes of which they had never seen. The relics of SS. Boris and Gleb were solemnly transferred into the magnificent stone and masonry church built for them by Oleg. His achievement is a credit to his perseverance and great dedication to the cult; he succeeded where others failed. Over forty years earlier, in 1072, Izyaslav, Svyatoslav, and Vsevolod moved the relics into the wooden church commissioned by Izyaslav. Soon after, Svyatoslav began building the stone church; his brother Vsevolod completed the structure but it collapsed the very day it was completed.³³⁴

After becoming prince of Kiev, Svyatopolk expressed the desire to repair the church, but he refused on the grounds that "he dared not move the relics [repeatedly] from place to place."³³⁵ Eventually, Oleg persuaded Svyatopolk to allow him to finish his father's church. In 1111 when it was completed and decorated Svyatopolk had a change of heart; he refused to grant Oleg permission to consecrate it and transfer the relics.³³⁶ As a result, the church remained unused for some four years.

In 1115, two years after Monomakh occupied Kiev he authorized the consecration of the church.³³⁷ All the same, it is noteworthy that he also procrastinated for almost two years before granting permission. The PVL offers no explanation for the delay. However, later evidence suggests that one reason may have been political.

We are told that Monomakh gave Oleg permission to move the relics after he assumed "complete authority" in Rus'.³³⁸ He obtained such authority only after all the Yaroslavichi, including the Svyatoslavichi,

³³⁴ It has been pointed out that the collapse of a masonry church roof was not an uncommon occurrence in Rus'. In 1105 the roof of St. Andrew's church fell in (Ipat, col. 257). The risk was increased in Vyshgorod because the church surpassed in size all existing three-nave churches in Rus' (M. K. Karger, "K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva XI veka [Khram-mavzoley Borisa i Gleba v Vyshgorode]," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya*, 16 [1952], p. 99).

³³⁵ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 68. In fairness to the prince it should be noted that he had important considerations which may have deterred him from the task. His reign was plagued with Polovtsian attacks which drained his resources.

³³⁶ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 363.

³³⁷ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 361-7.

³³⁸ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69.

pledged their allegiance. For Oleg and David such an oath would also entail abjuring their own claim to Kiev. It appears, therefore, that Monomakh may have followed the example of his father Vsevolod. The latter had probably obtained Oleg's pledge not to seize control of Chernigov during his lifetime and, in return, promised to complete the church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod. Similarly, Monomakh probably procured Oleg's pledge not to seize control of Kiev during Monomakh's lifetime and in return promised to move the relics into the church Oleg had rebuilt.

Although there is no written evidence to prove that Oleg and Monomakh made such a deal, later information suggests that around this time Oleg renounced all rights to Kiev for himself and his descendants. He ceded that right to Monomakh's sons. This at any rate can be inferred from the statement made in 1139 by Monomakh's son Vyacheslav. At that time he came to Kiev to occupy the throne but was challenged by Oleg's son Vsevolod. Vyacheslav then said to Vsevolod,

Brother, I have come here [i.e., occupied Kiev] after my brothers Mstislav and Yaropolk according to the testament of our fathers. If you covet this throne and wish to abandon your patrimony, then, brother...let it be yours.³³⁹

Vyacheslav's claim that he had the right to occupy Kiev "according to the testament of our fathers" is an enigmatic statement; the reference to "our fathers" can only signify Monomakh and Oleg. It is unlikely that such a deal, which made no provision for Svyatopolk's sons, was made at Lyubech. At that time Svyatopolk was prince of Kiev and he would not permit his sons to be debarred from Kiev. The agreement, therefore, was reached between the time of Svyatopolk's death in 1113, and Oleg's death two years later. That is, it was probably, concluded before the consecration of the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb.

Since Monomakh refused to grant Oleg permission for almost two years, and since, when he granted it, he had "complete authority," we may assume that he successfully brought pressure to bear on Oleg to renounce his family's rights to Kiev during the two-year interval. Again, it is important to note that Vyacheslav's reference to "our fathers" is to Monomakh and Oleg. David is ignored. This is additional evidence that after Monomakh became prince of Kiev he treated Oleg rather than David as the de

³³⁹ Mosk., p. 34; Tat., 4, p. 195.

facto ruler of the Svyatoslavichi.³⁴⁰

There may have been an additional reason for the delay in the consecration of the church in Vyshgorod. Monomakh probably insisted on imposing special conditions for the translation of the relics which were unacceptable to Oleg. His intention to take as much credit as possible for the patronage of the shrine is evident from the sources. For example, the chronicle report of the proceedings was edited with a view to embellishing Monomakh's role at the ceremonies and denigrating Oleg's part.³⁴¹

To be sure, if the chronicle was our only source of information, the identity of the true patron would have been lost. However, the narrative account (*skazanie*) of SS. Boris and Gleb clearly states that Oleg, not Monomakh, built the church in Vyshgorod.³⁴²

The account describes the translation of the relics in the following manner.

After Vladimir assumed full authority, he resolved to move [the remains] of the holy passion-sufferers into the restored church and to exalt his brothers David and Oleg since they continuously pleaded and applied pressure on him to transfer the relics [into their church]. On that occasion Vladimir and his sons assembled in Vyshgorod along with David and Oleg and their sons. Metropolitan Nikifor summoned bishop Feoktist of Chernigov, Lazar' of Pereyaslav', Mina of Polotsk, and Daniil of Yur'ev, Abbot Prokhor of the Caves, Sava of the Holy Transfiguration, Sil'vester of St. Michael's, Peter of the Holy Mother of God in Vlaherna, Grigory of St. Andrew's, and Feofil of St. Dmitry's, and all the other venerable abbots, prelates, monks of every rank, and the clergy. They came from every corner of Rus' and from other lands. The town was teeming with visitors.

³⁴⁰ See above, p. 272.

³⁴¹ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 362. It is interesting to note that Monomakh allowed the translation to take place in 1115, on the centenary of the martyrdom. We have no way of knowing if he chose the date of the anniversary intentionally.

³⁴² *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 69-70; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 362-3; Karger, "K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva XI veka," p. 79). Only one chronicle reports that Oleg built the church; it evidently used the *skazanie* as its source (see s.a. 1113, Maz., p. 57).

Princes gathered there with all their boyars, elders, military commanders, and civic officials. To put it simply, everyone came: the highest officials in the land, the rich and the poor, the healthy and the sick alike. The town was so jammed with pilgrims that there was not even room left on the walls for them to stand.³⁴³

The setting for the ceremonies was spectacular and they were better attended than any religious function previously held in Rus'. Almost all the important personages, political and ecclesiastical, came. The senior princes of the land, Monomakh, David, and Oleg attended with their sons; the latter must have included some fifteen princes. To judge from the report, Yaroslav of Murom and his sons were absent. The narrator reports that Metropolitan Nikifor summoned all the bishops amongst whom Feoktist of Chernigov was given the place of prominence after the metropolitan. The notable exception was the bishop of Novgorod who is not reported as present. Abbots, monks, and clergy assembled "from the entire land of Rus'" and from other lands. The latter probably included Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, and Greeks. We are told they were joined by large numbers of the faithful including princes, that is, princes in addition to the ones already named. These undoubtedly included the debarred families of Igorevichi and Rostislavichi, and the princes of Polotsk whose bishop also participated. In short, every domain of Rus' was represented in Vyshgorod.

The church was consecrated on Saturday, 1 May; on Sunday the bodies were transferred as follows. As matins were sung in both churches (viz. Izyaslav's old wooden structure and Oleg's church) the clergy robed in their vestments, carrying candles, and swinging censers went to the old church. They exhumed the body of St. Boris placing it on a sledge built especially for that occasion. The princes and the boyars accompanied by the metropolitan, bishops, priests, and monks, began pulling it. However, they were unable to move the casket because, we are told, the pilgrims pressed round them too closely as they strained to touch it. Vladimir, who was supervising the transfer of Boris's remains, ordered his retainers to throw fine brocades, pieces of silver, and coins to the crowd in an effort to disperse them and clear the way. Even so, the procession reached the stone church with great difficulty. After they placed the casket in the centre of the building Gleb's relics were brought in a similar manner.

³⁴³ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 69-70.

Gleb's body was placed on a second sledge and escorted by Prince David who represented the Svyatoslavichi. Although Oleg was senior by birth at Lyubech David was placed ahead of him on the political rung. Protocol dictated that David escort the casket on behalf of the family. However, there may have been another reason why Oleg deferred to David. He was probably too feeble to escort the remains of his favourite saint in procession. We will see that, some three months after the translation ceremony, Oleg died.³⁴⁴

David was accompanied by boyars, clerics, and the populace singing *kyrie eleison*. Then, according to the author, a wonderful miracle took place. When the princes moved Boris's sledge they had done so without any hindrance; the only obstacle had been the pressing crowd. However, when they began to draw the sledge with Gleb's remains, it refused to budge. Finally, they pulled it with such force that the rope, which was so thick that a man could barely clasp it with both hands, snapped. On seeing this the pilgrims, many of whom were perched on the town walls and the ramparts, exclaimed *kyrie eleison*. The scribe ends the account with the report that the sound of the people shouting "[Lord] have mercy" reverberated like a peal of thunder. Thus they barely managed to bring Gleb's casket to the new church between matins and the start of the liturgy.³⁴⁵

After the two caskets were placed in the centre of the stone church a heated argument arose between the three cousins. Monomakh wished to poach from the Svyatoslavichi some of the glory which he so magnanimously promised to heap on them when he granted Oleg permission to consecrate the church.³⁴⁶ He demanded that the caskets be placed in the centre of the middle nave where he intended to erect a silver canopy over them. Oleg and David objected vehemently. They, or rather Oleg, demanded that the remains of the martyrs be moved to the right-hand side of the church and placed into the vault originally prepared for them by "my father" (*otets moi*), Svyatoslav.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁴ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 366-7.

³⁴⁵ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 70-1.

³⁴⁶ When he gave permission, Monomakh allegedly claimed to do so in order to glorify his "brothers" David and Oleg (*Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69).

³⁴⁷ Oleg's reference to the burial niches his father prepared in the south wall shows that Oleg needed to complete only the upper portion of the building (Karger, "K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva XI veka," p. 85). It was evidently customary to

As each side adamantly refused to give in, the metropolitan and the bishops tactfully suggested that the princes throw lots to resolve the dispute. In this way, they explained, the saints themselves would be allowed to choose their resting place. The cousins agreed. After Vladimir and the Svyatoslavichi placed their lots on the altar one of the clerics picked up a lot at random; the Svyatoslavichi won.³⁴⁸ After the religious celebrations were completed Oleg, the patron of the church, held a great feast; he fed all those present including the poor and the pilgrims.³⁴⁹ After the three-day festivities ended all those present returned to their homes.³⁵⁰

Monomakh was denied his moment of glory when it was determined by lot that the caskets would be placed in the burial niches prepared by Svyatoslav. This setback did not deter him. He was determined to share in the patronage of the shrine. At a later date, therefore, he gilded the caskets and decorated the entire shrine with precious metals and stones so that even the Greeks marvelled at the handiwork.³⁵¹

Despite the publicity the chroniclers give to Monomakh, the success

place caskets in the south wall; e.g. the remains of St. Feodosy were put in the right-hand wall of the Assumption Cathedral of the Caves Monastery in Kiev (*Patirik Pecherskiy*, p. 81). Monomakh, therefore, attempted to break with custom.

³⁴⁸ Ipat., col. 281. The information about the controversy is found only in the chronicle account.

³⁴⁹ The princes customarily feasted on the balcony (*seni*) located on the second floor of the prince's court (Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, p. 254). Since Oleg was the host in Vyshgorod, it has been suggested that he had a court there. As the eldest Svyatoslavich he probably inherited the one his father Svyatoslav used while he was prince of Kiev (Lyaskoronsky, "Kievskiy Vyshgorod v udel'no-vechevoe vremya," (ix), pp. 67-127). Later, as we shall see, Oleg's son Vsevolod also had a court in Vyshgorod.

³⁵⁰ Ipat., cols. 280-2.

³⁵¹ Ipat., col. 282; cf. Lav., col. 290, and *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69. Under 1115 the chronicle also states that Monomakh built a bridge across the Dnepr (Ipat., col. 282; cf. Lav., col. 290). A number of historians suggest it was located near Vyshgorod (e.g., Tat., 2, p. 131 and 4, p. 181; Zakrevsky, "Letopis' i opisaniye goroda Kieva," p. 89). Indeed, it is possible that the bridge was also associated with Oleg's church. As many visitors to the shrine would come from the lands of Chernigov, Monomakh possibly built the bridge to make the crossing for them easier. His action could also be seen as a symbolic gesture of reconciliation with the Svyatoslavichi. However, a number of historians suggest the bridge was near Kiev (e.g., Bagaley, *Russkaya istoriya*, p. 235; Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, p. 292) and other still place it south of Kiev near Vydubichi (Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 23).

of the May ceremonies in Vyshgorod was ultimately Oleg's triumph. It was a tour de force without precedent in Rus'. The main reason for the unparalleled attendance was undoubtedly the growth in the popularity of SS. Boris and Gleb. There is no better testimony of the increasing devotion to the two thaumaturges than that demonstrated by the multitude of pilgrims who came to Vyshgorod from all parts of Rus' and even from foreign lands. To judge from the composition of the heterogeneous crowd, this was a genuinely national event. In acknowledgement of the "national" character of the cult, the Church proclaimed the translation ceremony a feast-day in Rus' to be celebrated in all the principalities.³⁵² In this way, indirectly, it recorded for posterity Oleg's moment of glory.

It has been suggested that the translation of the relics into Oleg's masonry church marked the culmination in the evolution of the cult. After that SS. Boris and Gleb, who until then had been venerated in the main as thaumaturges, became more commonly recognized as warrior saints. They became the personal patrons of the princes of Rus' and their intercessors, especially, in military ventures.³⁵³ Onomastic evidence supports the view that by 1115 the two wonder-workers had matured in saintly stature. It has been argued that Oleg's church was the first one dedicated to the saints under their secular names, Boris and Gleb, rather than, as had been the practice, under their Christian names (i.e., the names of their patron saints), Roman and David.³⁵⁴ This change in nomenclature reveals that in the minds of the princes, clergy, and people the two brothers could intercede for Rus' in their own right rather than through the intervention of their own patron saints.

At this time the princes were also engaged in a crisp rivalry over the naming of churches dedicated to the two brothers. As we shall see, the church David built in honour of the martyrs in Chernigov was known as that of SS. Gleb and Boris (*Gleboborisovskaya*). This reflected the devotion of the Svyatoslavichi to the younger of the two saints. In all likelihood Oleg, contrary to the wishes of Monomakh who favoured St. Boris, attempted to identify the church in Vyshgorod in the same manner. This is

³⁵² Tip., p. 73; Kholm., p. 41.

³⁵³ Lesyuchevsky, "Vyshgorodskiy kul't," p. 240.

³⁵⁴ Poppe, "O vremeni zarozhdeniya kul'ta Borisa i Gleba," pp. 19, 21-2; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 368.

suggested by the information that even though it later became generally known as the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb, local tradition also refers to it as the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris. Ultimately, the Svyatoslavichi lost; Monomakh's wishes prevailed and the churches and the cult became popularly known as those of SS. Boris and Gleb.³⁵⁵

In addition to its religious significance the translation ceremony also fostered important cultural activity. The most monumental achievement was the erection of the church itself. It was unmatched in magnificence. Because of its proportionally narrow width it resembled a basilica. The three-nave structure and its three apses surpassed in size all such churches known to have existed in pre-Mongol Rus'. Its central nave, the east-west axis, was some 42 metres in length and 10 metres longer than the one in the Holy Saviour Cathedral on which it was modelled; the north-south axis measured some 22 metres in length. In imitation of the cathedral in Chernigov it probably had four pillars under its main cupola. Its location on the high bank overlooking the Dnepr made the gilded domes visible for miles around, including from Kiev.³⁵⁶

No description of the interior has come down to us. We know, however, that the niches Svyatoslav prepared for the caskets were on the right-hand side. Monomakh later covered the entire shrine with silver and gold. The magnificence of these decorations was allegedly acclaimed by all, including foreign pilgrims.³⁵⁷ Doubtlessly Oleg decorated the interior of the church in the traditional manner with frescoes, mosaics and icons. The floor was covered with colourful patterns of tiles. Information in the *skazanie* corroborates this. It states that Oleg "brought builders and commissioned them to build [the church], and he gave them an abundance of all the required materials; and so it was completed and painted."³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ Aleshkovsky, *Povest' vremennykh let*, p. 88, and his "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," pp. 114, 117-20.

³⁵⁶ For a report on the excavations made of the site see Karger, "K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva XI veka," pp. 86-99, and his "Khram-Mavzoley Borisa i Gleba v Vyshgorode," *Drevniy Kiev*, vol. 2: "Pamyatniki Kievskogo zodchestva X-XIII vv." (M.-L., 1961), pp. 323-35. See also Aleshkovsky, "Russkie gleboborisovskie enkol'piony 1072-1150 godov," pp. 105-6; Dovzhenok, "Ohliad arkhheolohichnoho vyvchennia drevn'oho Vishhoroda," pp. 89-90; Voronin, "Zodchestvo Kievskoy Rusi," p. 151; Aseev, *Arkhitektura drevnego Kiev*, p. 108.

³⁵⁷ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69; Ipat., col. 282; Lav., col. 290.

³⁵⁸ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 69; s.a. 1113, Maz., p. 57.

The identification of the two brothers as warrior saints came into vogue during this period. The portrayal of the saints as soldiers, especially on icons, was evidently made for the first time in Oleg's church. Originally, the brothers were depicted clasping a martyr's cross. Later, each one was portrayed holding a church as well. Finally, by the year 1115 they were pictured as warrior saints. On the oldest icons of the warrior saints they were illustrated wearing sheathed swords and clasping crosses in their hands; in later representations they were drawn holding their swords and, later still, they were armed with spears. In some instances St. Boris held the sword which, according to tradition, Monomakh's grandson Andrey Bogolyubskiy later took to Vladimir on the Kiyaz'ma.³⁵⁹

The so-called "miracle icons" (*v deyaniyakh*) which illustrated the miracles attributed to the two thaumaturges allegedly came into fashion during this decade. However, the first reference to the icon is found in a sermon addressed to Oleg's descendants some sixty years after the translation ceremony. The author, an unknown cleric of Chernigov, gave the sermon to the local princes on the feast of SS. Boris and Gleb on 2 May in the hope of reconciling them. He is critical of their rivalries and the insubordination of the younger princes to the senior ones. He beseeches them to imitate the examples of brotherly love demonstrated by SS. Boris and Gleb whose miracles they can see depicted before them, that is, on the so-called "miracle icon."³⁶⁰ Another icon of the saints was taken, probably after the translation ceremony, to the cathedral of St. Sofia in Constantinople.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Lesyuchevsky, "Vyshgorodskiy kul't," pp. 240-1, 245 fn. 1.

³⁶⁰ *Slovo pokhval'noe* [also known as *Slovo o knyaz'yakh*], pp. 17, 28. Four copies of the work have survived (O. A. Lindeberg, "Slovo o knyaz'yakh' [Problema sootnosheniya spisikov]," *Literatura drevney Rusi: Istorikovedenie* [Sbornik nauchnykh trudov], ed. D. S. Likhachev [L., 1988], pp. 3-13). It has been suggested that the series of illustrations originated before 1117 and constitutes mainly those found in the Sil'vestrovsky spisok of the *skazanie* (Aynalov, "Ocherki i zametki," pp. 14-7). See also P. Golubovsky "Opyt priurocheniya drevne-russkoy propovedi 'Slovo o knyaz'yakh' k opredelennoy khronologicheskoy dате," *Drevnosti: Trudy Arkheograficheskoy kommissii Imperatorskago Moskovskago archeologicheskago obshchestva*, ed. M. V. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, vol. 1, vyp. 3 (M., 1899), cols. 492-502, 510.

³⁶¹ L. Muller, *Die Altrussischen Hagiographischen Erzählungen und Liturgischen Dichtungen über die Heiligen Boris und Gleb* (München, 1967), p. xi, fn. 27; Aynalov, "Ocherki i zametki," p. 15; Priselkov, *Ocherki*, p. 73.

Other artistic objects which helped to promote the cult of the saints were portable in nature. For example, artists painted miniatures and artisans forged the so-called "encolpia" or brass reliquary crosses depicting SS. Boris and Gleb. The latter were in the main pilgrim souvenir amulets, witnesses to the alleged miraculous cures that occurred through the intercession of the thaumaturges.³⁶²

Monks wrote religious tracts in honour of the saints. At least three distinct genres have been identified: the prologue account (*prolozhnoe skazanie*), the narrative account (*zhitiynoe skazanie*), and a collection of lessons for the feast (*parimiynoe chtenie*).³⁶³ Furthermore, a number of works must have been commissioned by Oleg, David, or Monomakh specifically for the translation ceremony.³⁶⁴

There appears to be more uncertainty concerning the anonymous narrative account (*skazanie*) of SS. Boris and Gleb. An analysis of more than 150 copies of the work led philologists to the conclusion that the oldest copy, which survived in the twelfth-century *Uspenskiy sbornik* is the work of a number of authors. The original text included the report of the murder of the two princes and an encomium. Soon after, the account was expanded by miracle-reports. The latter were added to the *skazanie* at different times by a number of compilers from the 1070s until the consecration of Oleg's church. Records of the miracles, it appears, were kept at the church of SS. Boris and Gleb consecrated in 1072 and built by Izyaslav. Consequently, it has been suggested that one of the compilers brought the account up to date for the translation of the relics into the stone church.³⁶⁵

³⁶² Lesyuchevsky, "Vyshgorodskiy kul't," pp. 241-2; Sciacca "The Kiev Cult of Boris and Gleb," pp. 62-3; N. N. Voronin, "Anonimnoe' skazanie o Borise i Glebe, ego vremya, stil' i avtor," TODRL, vol. 13 (1957), p. 45.

³⁶³ A. A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniya o drevneyshikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (Spb., 1908), pp. 96-7.

³⁶⁴ It has been suggested, for example, that Nestor wrote his account of SS. Boris and Gleb at the beginning of the twelfth century, that is, before the consecration of Oleg's church. If this is true, the work may well have been commissioned for the translation ceremony (O. V. Tvorogov, *Slovar'*, I, pp. 275-6; see also Dovzhенок, "Ohliad arkheolohichnoho vyvchennia drevn'oho Vishhoroda," p. 64; Voronin, "Anonimnoe' skazanie," p. 11).

³⁶⁵ Karger, "K istorii Kievskogo zodchestva XI veka," p. 79. For an examination of the relationship between the different accounts concerning Boris and Gleb see Dmitriev, "Skazanie o Borise i Glebe'," pp. 10-6. Cf. the view that Bishop Lazar' of Pereyaslavl' wrote the account after the translation ceremony in 1115 and before

We have seen that between the years 1106 and 1108 Daniil, the abbot of a monastery in the Chernigov principality, visited the Holy Land. It has been suggested that his pilgrimage was also associated with the church in Vyshgorod and that Oleg was one of his main sponsors. An important motive for Daniil's visit to Jerusalem was probably to promote interest in holy places. To this end he was commissioned to record his travels in writing. It is not unreasonable to assume that his account was intended to popularize the practice of venerating shrines and relics, and to encourage belief in miracles. By familiarizing the faithful of Rus' with the travels of pilgrims to Jerusalem, he would inspire them to visit their own shrine in Vyshgorod. The appearance of Daniil's account (*Khozhdenie*) was perhaps scheduled to coincide with the completion of the church during Svyatopolk's reign. The popularity of the translation ceremony as reflected by the attendance of thousands of pilgrims may therefore be attributed, at least in part, to the success of Daniil's report.³⁶⁶

Secular accounts were also by-products of the translation ceremony. For example, reports of the celebrations were made in the chronicles. In addition, it has been suggested that the monk Nestor completed the first redaction of the PVL to coincide with the completion of the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb.³⁶⁷

Oleg's determination to rebuild the edifice also fanned rivalry between the princely families. Soon after the relics were moved into the wooden church built by Izyaslav in 1072, Svyatoslav attempted to better his brother by replacing it with a masonry one. He died before his wish was realized. His brother Vsevolod finished erecting it, probably, because he made an oath either to Svyatoslav or Oleg to do so; but its roof fell in. Svyatopolk considered restoring it, but excused himself from the task, and, finally, granted permission to Oleg. Meanwhile, in 1102, wishing to demonstrate his devotion to the martyrs, Monomakh clandestinely gilded the

his death in 1117 (Voronin, "Anonimnoe' skazanie," p. 46; *skazanie* O. V. Tvorogov, "Lazar'," *Slovar'* I, p. 229).

³⁶⁶ Voronin, "Anonimnoe' skazanie," pp. 22-5, 49.

³⁶⁷ Cherepnin, "Povest' vremennykh let," pp. 309-10, 314; M. Kh. Aleshkovsky, "K datirovke pervoy redaktsii Povesti Vremennykh Let," *Arkheograficheskiy ezhegodnik za 1968 god* (M., 1970), pp. 71-2; cf. D. S. Likhachev, "Nekotorye voprosy ideologii feodalov v literature XI-XIII vekov," *TODRL*, X (1954), pp. 89-90.

caskets in Izyaslav's wooden church.³⁶⁸ After Oleg's builders completed the church Svyatopolk also became jealous of Oleg's achievement, or so the author of the report would have it. He refused Oleg permission to consecrate the shrine because he had not built it.³⁶⁹ Even if he held no particular devotion to the cult he realized that the popularity which came with patronizing it could be put to political advantage.

After Svyatopolk's death the rivalry for patronage of the relics continued between the Svyatoslavichi and Monomakh. The latter at first refused to grant permission for the consecration of the church. This was so, in part, for political reasons, and, in part, because he probably wished to assume complete control of the proceedings. The latter is supported by the evidence that after he finally allowed the Svyatoslavichi to move the relics he meddled in the ceremonies. Nevertheless, it must be noted that he had good reason for assuming a leading role in the events. Oleg did not have a free hand in building or consecrating the church either with Svyatopolk or Monomakh because Vyshgorod fell under the jurisdiction of the prince of Kiev. Monomakh was acting within his rights, therefore, when he wished to contribute to the decoration of the shrine.

In the eyes of the faithful patronizing the cult of the *strastoterpsy* brought moral prestige to the princely patrons. On the one hand, by relinquishing control of the relics Svyatopolk lost the renown his father had enjoyed. Indeed, if we can take at face value the chronicler's failure to record their names, Svyatopolk's sons neglected to attend the translation ceremony. There is also no evidence to show that they expressed any interest in promoting the cult after their father's death. On the other hand, the Svyatoslavichi, and Oleg in particular, gained much glory by becoming the new patrons of the holy relics. The author specifically states that Monomakh's reason for granting Oleg permission was to glorify his two "brothers." However, Monomakh's actions during the ceremonies reveal that he himself was determined to share in their glory.

The rivalry between the Svyatoslavichi and Monomakh took on an added dimension. Each family "adopted" one of the two brothers as its special patron: Svyatoslav had chosen Gleb, and Monomakh selected Boris. Undoubtedly, the identifications were determined in large part by the consideration that, while alive, the two saints were associated with the

³⁶⁸ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, p. 68.

³⁶⁹ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 355-9, 363-4.

domains of the two respective families. Gleb ruled Murom which later became part of Svyatoslav's patrimony. Boris was the prince of Rostov and he was killed on the river L'ta in the Pereyaslavl' domain; both were territories Monomakh's father Vsevolod inherited.

The two families demonstrated their devotion to the martyrs well before the translation ceremony. In 1072 Svyatoslav had been favoured by a sign from St. Gleb. In 1094 Monomakh had demonstrated his favouritism for St. Boris by referring to the feast of the two martyrs as the Feast of St. Boris. In the same manner, in 1115 the author of the *skazanie* attempted to credit St. Gleb with a wondrous sign which, purportedly, made him more favoured in the eyes of God than St. Boris. He reports that the sledge refused to budge and when the men pulled it with all their might the rope, which was so thick a man could barely get both hands around it, snapped. This, in the opinion of the author was a miracle which made St. Gleb more favoured in the eyes of God than St. Boris. By association, the glory of St. Gleb redounded to his patrons the Svyatoslavichi.

The princely rivalry was taken beyond the confines of Vyshgorod. Inspired by Oleg's shrine David and Monomakh built churches in honour of the passion sufferers in their own domains. In 1117, for example, Monomakh erected a church to St. Boris on the L'ta, on the spot where the saint was allegedly murdered.³⁷⁰ Although he built many churches during his lifetime, Monomakh was especially attached to the one on the L'ta and it was there he chose to die.³⁷¹ Similarly, David built the Cathedral of SS. Gleb and Boris (*Gleboborisovskiy sobor*) at an undetermined date in Chernigov.³⁷² It was to become his burial place.

There is evidence, albeit slight, that David may have patronized or even founded the monastery of SS. Boris and Gleb built at Smydyn' near

³⁷⁰ Ipat., col. 285, cf. Lav., col. 294 where it is called the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb.

³⁷¹ Lav., col. 295.

³⁷² N. V. Kholostenko, "Issledovaniya Borisoglebskogo sobora v Chernigove," *Sovetskaya arkhologiiya*, 2 (1967), pp. 188, 207-8. As late as 1665 the church was still referred to as the "Gleboborisovskiy khram" in a legal document (Bagaley, *Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 289). A monastery was attached to the church, but we are not told when it was established (Ilovaysky, *Istoriya Rossii*, chast' 2, p. 60; Ikonnikov, *Opyt' russkoy istoriografii*, p. 490).

Smolensk on the site where Gleb was allegedly murdered.³⁷³ Although the years of his rule are poorly documented, David was prince of Smolensk for several years during the 1090s. Given his father's dedication to the memory of St. Gleb, and in the light of David's own veneration of his namesake, it is very possible that David established a monastery on the site of Gleb's martyrdom. According to local tradition the monastery was also known as that of SS. Gleb and Boris (*Gleboborisovskiy monastyr*). The custom of placing Gleb's name before that of his brother is a reflection of the practice that David later used in Chernigov.³⁷⁴

Other princes followed the examples of David and Monomakh. At an unspecified time after the translation ceremony a cathedral dedicated to the *strastoterptsy* was founded in Ryazan'. Although it is tempting for the historian to assume that the youngest Svyatoslavich, Yaroslav, followed the examples of Oleg and David by building a church in his domain, there is no documentary evidence for this.³⁷⁵ About this time a monastery in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb was founded near Polotsk as well. A fresco of the two martyrs which survived from that time is one of the earliest depictions of the two princes. The popularity of the cult in Polotsk, the only principality not under the control of the Yaroslavichi of Kiev, is further testimony of the national character of the cult.³⁷⁶ It also gives witness to the special relationship that evidently existed between Oleg and the prince of Polotsk.

³⁷³ It is generally believed that Monomakh founded the monastery and built a wooden church (Voronin, "Anonimnoe' skazanie," p. 38; according to Nikon, p. 172, the first stone church was built in 1146). In the light of the consideration that the chroniclers zealously strove to record every instance in which Monomakh patronized the cult, their failure specifically to associate him with the monastery at Smyadyn' suggests he was not its patron.

³⁷⁴ Aleshkovsky, *Povest' vremennykh let*, p. 88; Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniya*, p. 81. In 1138 Oleg's son Svyatoslav fled from Novgorod to Chernigov. As he passed by Smolensk the town militia captured him and "placed him under guard on the Smyadyn' river, in the monastery" (NPL, pp. 25, 210-1). The text implies that the prince went to the monastery because he considered it to be a place of refuge. A special bond could have been created between the Svyatoslavichi and the monastery when David was prince of Smolensk.

³⁷⁵ A. L. Mongayt, "Staraya Ryazan'," *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, no. 49 (M., 1955), pp. 76-86, 89, 93-4, 97; cf. Vagner, "Arkhitekturnye fragmenty Staroy Ryazani," pp. 18-9, 22-3.

³⁷⁶ Shtykhov, "Kiev i goroda Polotskoy zemli," p. 74.

In 1117 the translation ceremony also experienced echoes in Byzantium when an unknown patron built a church in the imperial capital in honour of the native saints of Rus'.³⁷⁷ This is the first recorded instance of the martyrs being venerated in this manner in Constantinople or, for that matter, anywhere outside of Rus'. It is also a testimony to the significant role that the church in Vyshgorod played in promoting the cult abroad. Even more important for the Orthodox Church in Rus' was the consideration that Oleg's shrine helped to secure international recognition for the *strastoterpsy*. By permitting the church to be built in the imperial capital, the patriarch publicly acknowledged the sanctity of the two warrior saints.

As an addendum, let us briefly examine Oleg's motives for rebuilding his father's church and promoting the cult. There can be no doubt that his devotion to SS. Boris and Gleb was genuine, that he wished to honour their memory and to bring renown to his own family. However, Oleg must have also had a very personal reason for completing the first national shrine.

During the early years of the struggle to recapture his patrimony, Oleg was forced to use the Polovtsy against the Christians of Rus'. The chronicler condemned him for this action and proclaimed that he would have to answer to God for his sin. Oleg probably built the church for all the Christians of Rus' as partial atonement for his alleged offense. He hoped that the shrine in Vyshgorod would help to erase from his name whatever stigma had become associated with it as a result of his pre-Lyubech campaigns. If this was his intention, he succeeded. To judge from the evidence that the chronicler and the princes acknowledged him as one of the three senior princes of Rus', his peers forgave him his so-called transgressions.³⁷⁸ Their action was confirmed by the numerous pilgrims who flocked to Vyshgorod to witness the translation of the relics into his church. By that action, it could be argued, his contemporaries forgave Oleg and expressed their gratitude.

There was one allegedly dissonant, albeit later, voice. The unknown author of the epic poem *Slovo o polku Igoreve* dubbed Oleg, *Goreslavich*, which has been translated as the "Son of Woe" or "Son of Misfortune."

³⁷⁷ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," p. 368.

³⁷⁸ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 366-7.

This sobriquet is generally interpreted to be a condemnation of Oleg for the alleged sorrow he inflicted upon his Christian compatriots.³⁷⁹

Is the interpretation correct? Even though Oleg was one of the most important princes of Rus' in his day, our investigation has shown that for most of his political life he himself was a victim of injustice and misfortune. His lot was permeated with strife and failure: after his father's death Izyaslav and Vsevolod appropriated his patrimony and forced him to flee; abandoned by the other princely families he had to seek aid from the Polovtsy for which he was condemned; he waged war on his uncles, but was defeated; as a result of the internecine strife two of his brothers were killed; he himself escaped death but was sent into exile for four years; then he was permitted to rule Tmutarakan', as a political outcast of Rus' as it were, for over ten years; after Vsevolod's death he seized his patrimony by force a second time, but soon after was driven out by his cousins Svyatopolk and Monomakh; meanwhile, Monomakh's son Izyaslav captured his domain of Murom; finally, deprived of all his patrimonial lands, Oleg engaged Monomakh in an all out war in an effort to win back Chernigov; his godson Mstislav defeated him and forced him to accept unconditional surrender.

The final humiliation came at Lyubech. Even though he was the eldest Svyatoslavich and rightful ruler of Chernigov, the council of princes deprived Oleg of his patrimony and gave it to his younger brother David. Oleg was demoted to the place of second political importance in his own family. Thus, despite all his efforts to right the injustice and win back control of his patrimony, he failed.

In the light of this evidence the sobriquet *Goreslavich* takes on another meaning. It is more appropriate to translate it into English as "Son of Bitter Glory": bitter, for the misfortunes and failures he experienced in his political life, that is, his unsuccessful attempts to rule Chernigov which his father bequeathed to him; glory, for the public acclaim he received from the faithful of Rus', including the clergy, princes, boyars, and civic officials, after he successfully translated the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb into the shrine he rebuilt in Vyshgorod.

³⁷⁹ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 350, 367; D. S. Likhachev, *Velikoe nasledie*, second edition (M., 1979), p. 142.

R. OLEG'S DEATH

In 1115 there were portents in the sun. Elsewhere the chronicler informed his reader that such omens either promised good or boded ill.³⁸⁰ On this occasion it was the latter. On 1 August Oleg died. The following day he was buried in Holy Saviour Cathedral in Chernigov beside his father Svyatoslav.³⁸¹

The PVL gives no particulars surrounding Oleg's death. Nevertheless, as he was some sixty five years of age he probably died of natural causes and in Chernigov. The latter is supported by the evidence that Oleg was buried in the Holy Saviour Cathedral on the following day. Had he died in Novgorod Severskiy, for example, his retainers would have been unable to bring the body to Chernigov in one day. Indeed, there can be no dispute over the location of his death since, as co-ruler of Chernigov, he had a permanent residence in the patrimonial capital.³⁸²

Oleg had been feeble in May at the translation ceremony in Vyshgorod, and his death came as no surprise to his family. His sons Vsevolod, Igor', Gleb, and Svyatoslav who accompanied him to Vyshgorod undoubtedly attended him on his deathbed as well. Before he died, like his grandfather Yaroslav "the Wise," he would have imparted his "testament" to them and designated Vsevolod, who was some thirty years of age, as his successor.

It is noteworthy that Oleg was Svyatoslav's only son to be buried inside the Holy Saviour Cathedral alongside his father. Roman's body was left in the steppe where he was killed by the Polovtsy. The Church of SS. Gleb and Boris became David's tomb. Yaroslav would die as prince of Murom and be buried there. However, the body of Oleg's eldest brother Gleb who was killed in the Novgorod lands, in 1078, was brought to Chernigov and buried outside the Holy Saviour Cathedral.

At first glance the discrepancy between the burial places for Gleb

³⁸⁰ See s.a. 1102, L'vov., p. 102.

³⁸¹ This is most likely the correct date since it is given by two of the oldest sources. (Ipat., col. 282; NPL, pp. 20, 204). A number of the chronicles give the date as 8 August (e.g., Lav., col. 290), while the largest number report that the omen occurred on 1 August and the death on 18 August (e.g., Tver., col. 191; Erm., p. 29; Mosk., p. 27).

³⁸² Cf. Pogodin who wrongly claims Oleg died in Novgorod Severskiy (*Drevnyaya russkaya istoriya do mongol'skago iga*, p. 385).

and Oleg is surprising since each prince was the genealogically eldest member of the family at the time of his death. However, an examination of their careers reveals an important difference. Gleb, unlike Oleg, was never prince of Chernigov. And, it is noteworthy that the two princes who were buried in the Holy Saviour before Oleg both ruled the town: Oleg's father Svyatoslav and his uncle Mstislav who began work on the cathedral.³⁸³ We may assume, therefore, that the reason why Oleg was buried inside the church was because he had been prince of Chernigov: in 1094 as sole ruler, and, after Lyubech as co-ruler with David.³⁸⁴

There were additional reasons why Oleg deserved this dignity. His final resting place alongside his father may have been determined, at least in part, by the consideration that Svyatoslav had designated Chernigov as Oleg's patrimony. It was also fitting for Oleg to be buried by his father because they were the main architects of the political fortunes of the Svyatoslavichi: by usurping Kiev Svyatoslav secured the right for his sons to rule it as the throne of their father, with his determined struggle against his uncles and cousins Oleg secured control of Chernigov as his family's patrimonial domain. Without these two successes the Svyatoslavichi may easily have faded into political oblivion.

Oleg's death evidently created no changes in the territorial allocations of the Svyatoslavichi. However, it significantly increased David's authority. He became the sole ruler of Chernigov as well as the genealogically eldest prince of the family. Oleg's sons were relegated to a position of lesser importance. They lost the moral prestige their family had enjoyed by virtue of Oleg's genealogical seniority. Vsevolod, the new senior prince of the Ol'govichi, belonged to the younger generation and, therefore, was unable to influence his uncle with the authority Oleg had exerted. The only other Svyatoslavich of David's generation was his younger half-brother

³⁸³ Mstislav's son Evstafy died in 1033 before his father (Ipat., col. 138; Lav., col. 150). He was probably not buried inside the cathedral because it was not yet built. Moreover, he was ineligible on the grounds that he never ruled Chernigov. The custom of burying the prince of a capital town in its cathedral is alluded to in the statement Yaroslav "the Wise" made to his favourite son. He hoped Vsevolod would be buried by his side in St. Sofia, provided God allowed Vsevolod to rule Kiev (s.a. 1093, Lav., col. 216).

³⁸⁴ In 1923 archaeologists discovered a number of burial places under the floor of the cathedral including a tomb with several caskets, but, in their opinion, none of these were from the eleventh or twelfth century (Makarenko, "Chernihiv's'kyi Spas. [Arkheolohichni doslidy r. 1923].," pp. 36-44, 68).

Yaroslav, prince of Murom. To judge from the available chronicle information, however, he remained detached from the politics of Chernigov.

As has been noted, like Yaroslav "the Wise" who bequeathed a "testament" to his sons, Oleg delivered a deathbed instruction to his heirs. If he had refrained from doing so earlier, he gave them patrimonial allotments within the territories of Novgorod Severskiy. Oleg also confirmed Vsevolod as his successor to Novgorod Severskiy before he died.

The chronicler tells us nothing about Vsevolod's personality³⁸⁵ or first years of rule. We can make only general observations. He undoubtedly imitated Oleg's policies as he consolidated his authority over the Ol'govichi. Moreover, the lack of evidence to the contrary suggests that Vsevolod co-operated with his uncle David and cultivated friendly relations with Monomakh's family. The latter was made easy for him because of the close bond that had existed between his father and Monomakh and also because his wife was the daughter of Monomakh's eldest son. During this period Vsevolod and his brothers were also at peace with the Polovtsy. Their liaison with the tribesmen was Svyatoslav, the youngest of the brothers, who married a Polovtsian princess.

Even though Vsevolod and his brothers were relegated to a lower rung of political importance in the House of Svyatoslav, the princes of their generation, in general, were assuming more significant roles in the politics of Rus'. Yaroslav's grandsons were dying out. Oleg was the third prince of that generation to die in four years. On 25 May 1112 his cousin David who blinded Vasil'ko had died.³⁸⁶ And, as we have seen, Svyatopolk died in the following year. They were all succeeded in their domains by their sons.

No matter to how genealogically senior a family of Yaroslavichi the princes of the fourth generation belonged,³⁸⁷ they remained lower in

³⁸⁵ Cf. Rybakov who describes Vsevolod as a drunkard and a brigand who became notorious in his youth for his attacks on peaceful villages. He is remembered in the heroic poems (*byliny*) as the scoundrel Churila (*Pervye veka russkoy istorii*, p. 117). This description is not based on chronicle evidence.

³⁸⁶ Ipat., col. 273.

³⁸⁷ Viz: Yaroslav = first generation; his sons (Yaroslavichi) = second generation; his grandsons (Izyaslavichi, Svyatoslavichi, Vsevolodovichi) = third generation; his great-grandsons (Monomashichi, Ol'govichi, Davidovichi) = fourth generation.

political precedence to any surviving prince of the third generation in the "inner circle," that is, to Monomakh and the two Svyatoslavichi, David and Yaroslav.³⁸⁸

A period of transition when members of the old generation were dying out and those of the new one assuming positions of seniority was, potentially, unstable. Political, genealogical, and moral seniority between princes or their families became blurred. Genuine confusion or alleged misunderstandings over precedence provided an unscrupulous junior prince with the pretext to make a bid for power.

S. DAVID IN CHERNIGOV

David demonstrated no political initiative during Oleg's lifetime and he failed to show any after his death. Insofar as he had a political policy it was one of appeasement. As a result, he refrained from using his newly acquired authority as sole ruler of Chernigov³⁸⁹ to unfair advantage over the Ol'govichi. He made no attempt to appropriate their domains and allowed them to remain in the territories allocated to them by their father.

The prince of Chernigov also co-operated with Monomakh who asked the Svyatoslavichi to provide him with military assistance soon after Oleg's death. At the beginning of 1116 Gleb Vseslavich of Minsk attacked the lands of the Dregovichii located between Minsk and the river Pripyat'. He set fire to the town of Sluchsk on the river Sluch'. Monomakh summoned his sons as well as David and the Ol'govichi (evidently all four) to join him. Monomakh instructed the princes to attack a number of Gleb's towns at the same time: his son Vyacheslav captured Orsha (Rsha) and Kopys' on the Dnepr, David and Monomakh's son Yaropolk took Drutsk. The PVL neglects to tell us what town the Ol'govichi attacked. Perhaps

³⁸⁸ For example, on the national level, the fourth generation of princes from the genealogically most senior family, the Izyaslavichi, were politically inferior to Monomakh, David and Yaroslav. Similarly, in the House of Svyatoslav, Vsevolod had to defer to both of his uncles, David and Yaroslav, even though they were younger than his father Oleg. The only surviving *izgoi* from the third generation were Rostislav's sons, Volodar' and the blind Vasil'ko.

³⁸⁹ Vsevolod did not replace his father Oleg as co-ruler of Chernigov. As we shall see, after David died he was succeeded by his younger brother Yaroslav. Presumably, had Vsevolod been co-ruler, he would have remained in Chernigov after David's death.

they accompanied Monomakh who needed the largest force to besiege Gleb in Minsk. After Gleb capitulated and promised to become his loyal vassal, Monomakh allowed him to remain in Minsk.³⁹⁰

It is difficult to determine exactly how the Svyatoslavichi were effected by Gleb's attack on the Dregovichi lands. However, given that Monomakh retaliated with a large force comprising members from his family and the House of Svyatoslav, the territories in question probably belonged to him or to the Svyatoslavichi. Since neither David Vseslavich of Polotsk nor the Izyaslavichi of Turov took part in the campaign, they had no interest in the region.

As has been suggested, David's elder brother Oleg may have been given the Dregovichi lands at Lyubech in partial compensation for the territorial losses imposed on him by the council of princes. In 1104 when Svyatopolk launched an expedition against Gleb of Minsk, Oleg brought his ally David of Polotsk. At that time, the nature of the dispute was undisclosed and no settlement was reached. It is noteworthy that, in 1116, Gleb attacked the Dregovichi towns only some six months after Oleg's death. This suggests that the region may have been the bone of contention in 1104 as well, and that Oleg's death changed its political status.

If, as may well have been the case, Svyatopolk had given the Dregovichi lands to Oleg at Lyubech, it was probably with the understanding that they would revert to the prince of Kiev after Oleg's death. Therefore, in 1115 they became the property of Monomakh. Whether he kept the lands for himself or allowed Oleg's sons to retain control of all or part of them is unknown. It is important to note, however, that both David and the Ol'govichi faithfully accompanied Monomakh against the obstreperous Gleb in order to help the prince of Kiev assert his authority and, at the same time, enforce the Lyubech agreement.

Later in the same year David also helped Monomakh against the Polovtsy. Monomakh sent an expedition to the region of the river Don. He dispatched his son Yaropolk who ruled Pereyaslavl', and David sent his son Vsevolod. They defeated the enemy and captured three Polovtsian towns: Sugrov, Sharukan', and Balin.³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ Ipat., cols. 282-3; Gust., p. 291. Both accounts erroneously report that Monomakh besieged Gleb in Smolensk.

³⁹¹ Ipat., col. 284; Gust., p. 291; cf. Lav., col. 291 which lists the towns as Galin, Sugrov, and Cheshyuev (Chevshlyuev).

The last reported campaign against the Polovtsy had occurred in 1113 when Monomakh and Oleg marched against marauders in the region of the river Vyr'. On this occasion the chronicle fails to state if the expedition was retaliatory. However, the information that the princes rode deep into Polovtsian land and captured permanent towns rather than merely temporary encampments signifies that they were gaining the upper hand over the tribesmen. It also shows that Monomakh and David were handing over more military responsibility to their elder sons.

A significant feature of the expedition was the absence of the Ol'govichi who, as has been noted, participated in the attack on Gleb of Minsk. One possible explanation for this may be that the towns under attack belonged to their allies. It is noteworthy, for example, that one of the towns allegedly captured by Yaropolk and Vsevolod Davidovich was Sharukan'. In 1111 the inhabitants of that town brought out fishes and wine as tokens of peace to the warring princes of Rus'.³⁹² On that occasion two of the Ol'govichi, Vsevolod and Svyatoslav, had been present. Therefore, the inhabitants of Sharukan' had been their allies in the past. Indeed, in the light of Svyatoslav's presence, the town may well have belonged to that Aepa whose daughter Svyatoslav married. The observation cannot be confirmed. An additional reason for Vsevolod's absence may be that, following the example of his father Oleg, he refused to wage offensive campaigns, especially, against former allies.

The following year, in 1117, Monomakh once again summoned the Svyatoslavichi to accompany him on a punitive mission. On this occasion it was against Yaroslav the son of the former prince of Kiev, Svyatopolk. David and the two Rostislavichi, Volodar' and the blind Vasil'ko', accompanied Monomakh to the town of Vladimir in Volynia where they besieged Yaroslav for sixty days. In the end, he capitulated, bowed to Monomakh, and pledged his allegiance. Monomakh accepted his obeisance but admonished him and, we are told, commanded him, "Come to me whenever I summon you."³⁹³

This account is of interest for two reasons. It illustrates David's continued submissiveness to Monomakh and his willingness to help his cousin assert his authority over the princelings of Rus'. Moreover, Mono-

³⁹² Ipat., col. 266.

³⁹³ The chronicle refers to David as David Ol'govich; this is an error since no such prince existed (Ipat., cols. 284-5; Mosk., p. 28; Gust, p. 291).

makh's command to Yaroslav to come at his summons presumed the pledge of loyalty the "vassal" made to the prince of Kiev when he bowed in subservience. All the Svyatoslavichi made similar pledges to Monomakh after he occupied Kiev. To be sure, it was as a result of that pledge that David accompanied Monomakh against Yaroslav.

Monomakh also campaigned against the Poles, the Volga Bulgars, and the Polovtsy. Although the chronicles make no specific reference to the Svyatoslavichi participating in these battles, it is unlikely that Monomakh failed to take advantage of their promise of military assistance. There may be evidence, albeit ever so tenuous, for such support.

An entry for the year 1120 states that David's son Rostislav died.³⁹⁴ Although the cause of death is not given its untimeliness suggests that the prince was killed in battle. Since there is no information that the Svyatoslavichi were at war at this time Rostislav was probably dispatched to help Monomakh in response to a summons. Significantly, two campaigns are recorded under that year: on one occasion Monomakh's son Yury led a successful punitive expedition against the Bulgars on the Volga; on another, Monomakh sent his son Andrey and the "pagans" against the Poles.³⁹⁵ Rostislav may have been killed in one of these engagements. After his death David still had three sons at his beck and call: Vsevolod, Vladimir, and Izyaslav. Up until now, however, only Vsevolod has been reported as taking part in military campaigns.

In the light of the above evidence, we see that David was an exemplary vassal and acted in accord with the Lyubech agreement. He never challenged Monomakh in any of his policies. For his part, Monomakh took advantage of his cousin's submissiveness. Although Monomakh and Oleg reached an agreement whereby the latter forfeited the right of succession to Kiev for his family, Monomakh avoided implementing any measure of consolidation during Oleg's lifetime. He made the first move in that direction after David became the sole ruler of Chernigov.

An item of information under the year 1117 looks innocuous enough, but it reflects Monomakh's "master" plan, as it were, for securing permanent control of Kiev for his family. Monomakh summoned his eldest son

³⁹⁴ Ipat., col. 286; Gust., p. 292. David's patronymic is not given, but Rostislav was identified as the son of David Svyatoslavich under the year 1112 (Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," pp. 254-5).

³⁹⁵ Ipat., cols. 285-6.

Mstislav from Novgorod and gave him Belgorod, a small town west of Kiev on the right bank of the river Irpen'.³⁹⁶ The chronicler gives no explanation for the transfer. And yet, this was the first instance in the history of Rus' that a prince of Kiev appointed a prince to rule Belgorod.³⁹⁷

Why did Monomakh appoint Mstislav to Belgorod rather than Vyshgorod? The reason may have simply been one of strategy: whereas Vyshgorod safeguarded the northern route to Kiev, Belgorod protected its western approach from Galicia, Volynia, the Hungarians and the Poles. There may have been a second reason. As we have seen, a number of the boyars of Vyshgorod and many inhabitants supported the Ol'govichi. They may have rejected Monomakh's son as prince, but we are not told.

It is impossible to know whether Monomakh intended Mstislav to occupy Belgorod permanently or only as a stopgap measure. The chronicle also fails to tell us for how long a period Mstislav actually remained there. His younger brother Svyatoslav died on 16 March 1114 as prince of Pereyaslavl'.³⁹⁸ In 1125 Mstislav is reported ruling that town. Thus, Monomakh may have designated Mstislav prince of Pereyaslavl' in 1117 and given him a residence in Belgorod as well. We are not told.

Why did Monomakh instruct his eldest son to abandon Novgorod and come to southern Rus'? Was it merely as a military expedient? This was insufficient reason to permanently withdraw Mstislav from what was traditionally considered to be the second wealthiest town in the land. Besides, the Novgorodians were content with his rule as confirmed by the duration of his stay there (i.e., over twenty years) and by the information that they allowed him to appoint his son Vsevolod as his successor.³⁹⁹

In the light of future developments it is evident that Monomakh summoned Mstislav as his designated successor to Kiev.⁴⁰⁰ Mstislav's presence near Kiev would enable him to acquaint himself with the issues and personages of southern Rus'. It meant that he would be on hand to

³⁹⁶ Ipat., col. 284. Concerning Belgorod see *Arkheologiya Ukrainskoy SSR*, vol. 3 (1986), pp. 314-9.

³⁹⁷ The closest analogy was in 1077 when Izyaslav, as prince of Kiev, appointed his eldest son Yaropolk to the northern outpost of Vyshgorod. (Ipat., col. 191; Lav., col. 200).

³⁹⁸ Ipat., col. 277.

³⁹⁹ NPL, pp. 20, 204.

⁴⁰⁰ See, for example, Lyaskoronsky, "Kievskiy Vyshgorod v udel'no-vechevoe vremya," (ix), pp. 78, 92-4; Eremin, "Povesť vremennykh let", p. 35.

occupy Kiev at the time of his father's death. Mstislav's arrival in southern Rus', therefore, was the first important step in Monomakh's plan to secure control of Kiev for his descendants and, concomitantly, permanent political supremacy in Rus'.

David, to judge from the silence of the sources, did nothing to challenge Monomakh and, officially, he had no legitimate complaint. He and Oleg had relinquished their rights of succession to Monomakh's family. However, the Izyaslavichi of Turov had not, and Mstislav's arrival was the signal that Monomakh intended to exclude them from succession as well. If the Svyatoslavichi ceded their right, that was their business. However, their bilateral agreement with Monomakh could not deprive the Izyaslavichi of the privilege Yaroslav "the Wise" granted their great-grandfather Izyaslav. According to that arrangement, Yaroslav of Vladimir was the designated successor to Monomakh, and Mstislav's arrival in Belgorod was an open challenge to him. It was because of this controversy that Monomakh evidently summoned David from Chernigov in 1117 to march against Yaroslav.⁴⁰¹ As we have seen, the latter capitulated and agreed to serve Monomakh as his vassal, but he did not. The following year Yaroslav fled to the Hungarians and Monomakh sent his son Roman to Vladimir as prince.⁴⁰²

Yaroslav's concerns were well founded. In 1118 Monomakh made a public declaration of his intent. We are told that he and Mstislav summoned all the boyars from Novgorod to Kiev and required them to pledge their loyalty to them. This information confirms that, at least in some important matters, Mstislav already exercised the role of co-ruler with his father.⁴⁰³ Although the PVL nowhere describes Monomakh's scheme in detail, it becomes increasingly obvious in the future. By 1118, however, his initial steps of aggrandizement had sounded the warning bell to the House of Svyatoslav. Monomakh intended not only to make Kiev his personal domain but to appropriate any contestable domains in Rus' for his sons.

⁴⁰¹ Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 111, and his *Ocherk*, p. 127.

⁴⁰² Roman died in the same year and Monomakh replaced him with his youngest son Andrey (see s.a. 1117 and 1118, *Ipat.*, col. 285). By giving Vladimir to his son, Monomakh followed the example of Yaroslav's father, Svyatopolk. In 1100, he gave the town to Yaroslav after David was expelled from it for blinding Vasil'ko.

⁴⁰³ NPL, pp. 21, 204; Tver., col. 192. See also Rapov, p. 140.

The last few years of David's uninspired career were politically uneventful. However, he evidently patronized architectural projects. After the translation ceremony in Vyshgorod in 1115 he commissioned the construction of the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris near the Holy Saviour Cathedral. It served as his court church and, later, as his mausoleum.⁴⁰⁴

The Church of SS. Gleb and Boris was modelled on the Assumption Cathedral in the Elets'kiy Monastery. It was a cruciform building with three naves, three apses, six pillars, and one dome. On the outside, galleries skirted its western and northern walls; the latter gallery ended with a one apse chapel. A chapel was also annexed to the southern facade. On the inside the northern and southern walls contained burial niches. Stairs leading to the choir were set inside the western wall. As was customary, the building was decorated with frescoes; slate slabs with mosaic inlay and colourful glazed ceramic tiles covered the floor. Architectural features such as white stone capitals and the church portal were covered with reliefs depicting mythical creatures and wattle ornamentation in the Romanesque style.⁴⁰⁵ The building was completed during David's lifetime.

In 1123 David died and his younger brother, Yaroslav of Murom, occupied the throne of Chernigov.⁴⁰⁶ The author of an account written some fifty years after David's death, and one which contains elements of folk tradition that arose around the cult of the prince, tells us more. He describes David's death in the following manner.

The prince lay on his deathbed and Bishop Feoktist, realizing that his end was approaching, ordered hymns to be sung. During the singing the roof over the prince's bed parted; a white dove entered the room and came to rest on his chest. After the prince died it flew away and the room

⁴⁰⁴ Kholostenko, "Chernigovskie kamennye knyazheskie terema XI v.," p. 3; cf. Aseev, "Stilisticheskie osobennosti chernigovskogo zodchestva," p. 138.

⁴⁰⁵ See Kholostenko, "Issledovaniya Borisoglebskogo sobora v Chernigove," pp. 198-203, and Mezentssev, "The Masonry Churches of Medieval Chernihiv," pp. 375-7. For general description of the church see Afanas'ev, *Postroenie arkhitekturnoy formy drevnerusskimi zodchimi*, pp. 184-6; Voronin, "Zodchestvo Kievskoy Rusi," p. 147. It has been suggested that the church is like that of the Twelve Apostles in Thessalonica (Rudakov, "Chetyrnadtsatiy arkheologicheskiy s'ezd i tysyacheletie goroda Chernigova," pp. 234-5).

⁴⁰⁶ Ipat., col. 286; Erm., p. 30; Tver., col. 193. The exact date of his death is not reported. Since Bishop Feoktist, who died on 6 August in the same year (see below), presided over David's funeral, the prince died between March (the first month in the chronicler's year) and 6 August.

was filled with a sweet fragrance. The body was taken to the Holy Saviour Cathedral and, even though it was still day, a star appeared over the building. When they moved David to the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris where he was to be buried the star moved to that spot. As evening approached and the tomb remained unfinished, Bishop Feoktist announced that it would be necessary to complete the burial the following day. Just then onlookers who were standing outside the church exclaimed that the sun had stopped in the sky and refused to set. The bishop praised God, we are told, because the sun remained in the sky until the tomb was prepared and the prince's body was laid to rest.

The author ends with an instruction. He proclaims that in David's death and burial his listeners could see how God blessed those who lived according to His precepts with miracles. David was favoured with four: an angel descended on him in the form of a dove; sweet fragrances emanated from his body; a star appeared over the spot where his body lay; at God's command the sun stood still in the sky until his body was laid to rest. The author concludes with a short eulogy extolling David's saintly qualities: his love of peace, his hatred of war, his love of his brothers, his respect for oaths, and his exemplary life as a father.⁴⁰⁷ Thus even though David's political career was unexceptional, he was respected as a pious prince by many of the faithful in Rus'. Indeed, they held him in such high esteem that locally he became venerated as a saint.⁴⁰⁸

Soon after the death of its political ruler Chernigov also lost its ecclesiastical head. On 6 August, Bishop Feoktist who had served as the spiritual father to both David and his wife, died.⁴⁰⁹ Like David, Feoktist was also looked upon as a saint by the local inhabitants.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁷ Three copies of the account are found in *Slovo pokhval'noe*, pp. 16-7, 25-7, 29-30, and "Kniga stepennaya," pp. 179-80. We are told that "[David] ruled in Chernigov, the most important principality, because he was the eldest of his brothers" (*Slovo pokhval'noe*, pp. 16, 24). This information is wrong. Even though historians disagree concerning the ages of Oleg, David, and Roman, they do agree that Gleb was the eldest. However, after Oleg's death in 1115 David became not only the eldest Svyatoslavich, but also the genealogically most senior Yaroslavich in Rus'.

⁴⁰⁸ Leonid, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 32. Cf. Eristov, *Slovar' istoricheskii o svyatykh* where David is not listed among the saints.

⁴⁰⁹ Lav., col. 293; Mosk., p. 28.

⁴¹⁰ Leonid, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 34; cf. Eristov, *Slovar' istoricheskii o svyatykh* who does not list Feoktist among the saints.

T. YAROSLAV IN CHERNIGOV

David's death had important consequences for the House of Svyatoslav. The most significant promotion was that of his younger brother Yaroslav of Murom. As the eldest surviving prince of the Svyatoslavichi he assumed the role of the moral "father" of the clan and became its political head. He also became the prince of Chernigov.⁴¹¹ At the same time, David's eldest surviving son Vsevolod (i.e., disregarding the monk Svyatosha-Nikola), became the political head of the Davidovichi. The chronicle fails to tell us what relationship now existed between the Davidovichi and the Ol'govichi. However, to judge from later evidence, the Davidovichi remained above the Ol'govichi on the ladder of political seniority even though the Ol'govichi were the genealogically senior branch. That is, the Svyatoslavichi adhered to the order of political precedence determined by the princes at the congress of Lyubech.

However, on the national level the political fortunes of the Davidovichi were less bright. Oleg and David renounced their right of succession to Kiev. Had they refused to do so, the Davidovichi would have lost that right at the time of their father's death in any case. Since he failed to occupy Kiev his sons were denied the right of succession to the capital and they, like the Ol'govichi, became *izgoi*. If the Svyatoslavichi retained any claim to Kiev whatsoever, it was now held by Yaroslav. He was an eligible candidate according to the natural order of succession and according to the principle that Kiev had been "the throne of his father." However, as Oleg's and David's political subordinate, he was bound by their agreement with Monomakh. They had evidently ceded the right of succession in the name of all the Svyatoslavichi.

David's death necessitated the transfer of a number of princes to new towns. Yaroslav succeeded David as prince of Chernigov. Since he occupied the patrimonial capital unchallenged by the Davidovichi or the Ol'govichi, he was obviously acting within his rights. His transfer gives us an insight into the nature of succession among the Svyatoslavichi. It confirms

⁴¹¹ In the same year, 1123, Yaroslav of Vladimir, Svyatopolk's eldest son and the senior prince of the Izyaslavichi of Turov, was assassinated (Ipat., col. 287; Lav., col. 293). His death led to a similar process of advancement among his brothers Bryacheslav and Izyaslav (Baum., II, 11, 15, 16). However, neither of them was capable of championing the rights of his family so the Turov lands fell under the control of the prince of Kiev for a long period (Lysenko, "Kiev i Turovskaya zemlya," p. 94).

the observation that, like the Izyaslavichi of Turov and, as we shall see, the Vsevolodovichi of Pereyaslavl', they followed the ladder system of succession to their ancestral capital.⁴¹² This was like the procedure for succession to the national capital of Kiev. Accordingly, Chernigov was the common inheritance of all the Svyatoslavichi; it belonged to no prince as his patrimony, neither to Oleg, nor David, nor Yaroslav. The current senior member of the House of Svyatoslav was always its lawful ruler, and, in 1123, that status was held by Yaroslav.

The chronicles give us a useful item of information which sheds additional light on the question of succession. Under the year 1124 we read: "In that year they brought a Polish woman to Murom as a wife for Vsevolod Davidovich."⁴¹³ This entry is of interest for a number of reasons. As the wedding occurred within a year of David's death he probably initiated the negotiations himself. Yaroslav, as the new senior prince, authorized it. Because Vsevolod was now the senior Davidovich his marriage to a member of a foreign ruling family took on an added political importance. It is not without significance, therefore, that his alliance was successfully concluded without Ol'govichi opposition. That is, it supports the observation that Vsevolod's transfer to Murom was made according to a predetermined plan accepted by all the Svyatoslavichi.

Furthermore, Vsevolod's transfer to Murom after his uncle vacated it reveals that the princes at Lyubech did not designate Murom as Yaroslav's hereditary domain. The Svyatoslavichi apparently looked upon both towns, Chernigov and Murom, as part of their common inheritance. Chernigov was the political centre of all their lands, and Murom was subsidiary to it. Evidently, to judge from the example of Yaroslav, the Svyatoslavichi intended to use Murom as a stepping-stone, as it were, to Chernigov. As it turned out, the procedure was followed only in this one in-

⁴¹² As noted above, in 1087, after Izyaslav's son Yaropolk was assassinated, his younger brother Svyatopolk replaced him as prince of Turov. A similar succession could not take place in Pereyaslavl' among the Vsevolodovichi for the simple reason that, in 1093, Monomakh's only younger brother Rostislav had drowned.

⁴¹³ Ipat., col. 288; Mosk., p. 29. The bride was the daughter of Boleslav III (Baum., IV, 8; Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, Table 29). If Vsevolod was born in the early 1080s, as has been suggested, in 1124 he was some forty years of age. Therefore, this was probably his second marriage because it is unlikely that he married so late in life for the first time.

stance before it was violated. Therefore, it is impossible to verify. Nevertheless, the observation is supported by the evidence that a similar practice existed elsewhere. At a later date the Monomashichi would use Pereyaslavl' as a "stepping stone" to Kiev.

There is an important corollary to this observation. Since Murom was part of the common inheritance, Yaroslav's patrimonial domain was elsewhere. We can only guess at its identity. As the town of second importance in the Murom region was Ryazan', it is the most likely candidate. Before occupying Chernigov, Yaroslav probably distributed his private domain among his sons. Similarly, when Vsevolod Davidovich moved to Murom which was part of the common inheritance of all the Svyatoslavi-chi, his patrimonial allotment was located elsewhere. That is, in addition to Murom Vsevolod retained control of the territory he inherited from his father in the area of Chernigov.

It is also noteworthy that David's eldest son, Vsevolod, rather than Oleg's eldest son, Vsevolod, occupied Murom. David's son apparently acted according to the order of political seniority promulgated at Lyubech. Since the prince of Murom was also the designated successor to Chernigov, the Davidovichi instead of the senior branch of Ol'govichi would succeed Yaroslav. This means that in 1097 the princes of Rus' decreed one of two things: that the Ol'govichi were demoted in political seniority and could occupy Chernigov only after the Davidovichi had their turn; or that the Ol'govichi were debarred from ever ruling Chernigov. We have no way of knowing the legislation of the congress. However, if it was the second, their fate was to be permanently relegated to their father's patrimonial domain of Novgorod Severskiy.

During the second year of Yaroslav's rule in Chernigov two important events occurred which influenced the future history of the Svyatoslavi-chi. On 19 May 1125 Monomakh died at the age of seventy three. His retainers moved his body from the Church of St. Boris on the L'ta where he died, to Kiev. They placed it next to his father Vsevolod in the Cathedral of St. Sofia. The chronicler extols Monomakh as a God-fearing man at whose name all lands trembled. He was survived by five sons: Mstislav, Yaropolk, Vyacheslav, Yury, and Andrey.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹⁴ Lav., cols. 293-5; Mosk., p. 29; cf. Ipat., s.a. 1126, col. 289. See Solov'ev who presents an exalted view of Monomakh (*Istoriya otnosheniy*, pp. 104-6, and see his *Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 [M., 1962], p. 371 f.); a more balanced view is presented by Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 134.

Although Monomakh's death was a memorable event, the succession to Kiev which followed it was of even greater moment for Rus'. The chronicler's terse report suggests that there were no complications in the transfer of power: "His [Monomakh's] eldest son Mstislav sat on the throne of Kiev in his father's place on 20 May."⁴¹⁵ By designating his eldest son to succeed him Monomakh violated the order of succession advocated by Yaroslav "the Wise." This was the first instance in seventy years, that is, after Yaroslav himself, when the prince of Kiev was succeeded by his eldest son. And yet, Mstislav's succession came as no surprise since Oleg and David had abdicated their right of succession, and Svyatopolk's two remaining sons were politically ineffectual.

Nevertheless, an additional ingredient was necessary to make Mstislav's accession successful. He needed the support of the Kievans and he got it. One source, albeit a late one, reports that the prince "was summoned from Pereyaslavl' [by the Kievans] and he came to Kiev."⁴¹⁶ Another states that "they [the Kievans] installed Mstislav on his father's throne."⁴¹⁷ Even though the Svyatoslavichi forfeited their claim and the Izyaslavichi were incapable of challenging Mstislav, he still had to obtain approval for his rule from the citizens. Once again they assumed the role of "king makers" just as they had in the case of his father Monomakh in 1113, when they invited him to be prince. Indeed, at that time or soon after they evidently reached an agreement with Monomakh to accept his descendants as their princes.

In addition to the agreement reached with Monomakh, the Kievans had other good reasons for selecting his eldest son as prince. By 1125 the balance of power that Yaroslav "the Wise" attempted to secure for the three families of the "inner circle" had collapsed. The senior branch of the Yaroslavichi, the Izyaslavichi, was the least important of all. It had only two princes, Svyatopolk's sons Bryacheslav and Izyaslav,⁴¹⁸ and they were relegated to their territories in patrimonial domain of Turov where they played no important role in the politics of Rus'. Indeed, it was around this time that the Monomashichi appropriated the capital town of

⁴¹⁵ See s.a. 1126, Ipat., col. 289; s.a. 1125, Lav., col. 295; NPL, pp. 21, 205.

⁴¹⁶ Gust., s.a. 1126, p. 293.

⁴¹⁷ NPL, pp. 21, 205.

⁴¹⁸ Baum., II, 15, 16.

Turov for themselves. Therefore, the "inner circle" was, in effect, reduced to two families: the Monomashichi and the Svyatoslavichi.

Even though the Svyatoslavichi had a powerful territorial base, it paled before the one controlled by the Monomashichi. Mstislav and his family ruled over half of the lands of Rus'. For example, his eldest son, Vsevolod, was prince of Novgorod, another son, Rostislav had Smolensk. Mstislav's brothers also ruled important domains: Yaropolk, the next in seniority, succeeded Mstislav in the patrimonial domain of Pereyaslavl'; Yury had the Rostov-Suzdal' region; Andrey governed in Vladimir. In contrast, the Svyatoslavichi controlled only the territories around the Chernigov-Murom axis. It is not surprising, therefore, that the pragmatic Kievans chose to throw in their lot with Mstislav.

There were still other reasons why Mstislav was popular with the Kievans. Of the three senior princes of the "inner circle" he far outshone the other two, Yaroslav of Chernigov and Bryacheslav of Turov, in leadership qualities. In 1096 he had conducted a brilliant campaign against his godfather Oleg. The victory was held in such high regard that, on reporting Mstislav's accession to Kiev, one of the sources singles it out as his crowning achievement.⁴¹⁹

Mstislav also proved his worth as an administrator in Novgorod. He had an unprecedented record of success in the town where he ruled for over twenty years. When he departed in 1117 he successfully designated his son Vsevolod to replace him as prince. A year after he moved to Belgorod he and his father summoned the Novgorodians to Kiev and disciplined them. In 1120 a Kievan named Boris was sent as *posadnik* to Novgorod, evidently as the agent of Monomakh and Mstislav.⁴²⁰ There can be no doubt that Mstislav impressed the Kievans with the authority he wielded over the northern metropolis. Consequently, just as the Novgorodians had thrown in their lot with Monomakh's family by choosing Mstislav (1095) and his son Vsevolod (1117) as prince, the Kievans decided to continue the political affiliation they initiated with Monomakh (1113) by choosing his son Mstislav as his successor.

The Svyatoslavichi, to judge from the little information we have, displayed no overt opposition to Mstislav's accession. Yaroslav and his nephews chose to abide by the agreement Oleg and David had made with

⁴¹⁹ Nikon., p. 153.

⁴²⁰ NPL, pp. 20-1, 204-5.

Monomakh ceding their right of succession. We may assume that the bond of friendship between Oleg and Monomakh survived among their sons. Mstislav was also the father-in-law of Vsevolod, the senior prince of the Olg'ovichs. Given these considerations, plus the fact that Mstislav was the most powerful ruler in Rus', the prince of Chernigov succumbed to his authority. Touching his forehead to the ground in obeisance, Yaroslav pledged allegiance to the new prince of Kiev.⁴²¹

Mstislav's occupation of Kiev upset the natural order of lateral succession advocated by Yaroslav "the Wise." In 1125 the Kievans made clear their intent to adopt, as it were, the Monomashichi as their princely family. This sounded the death-knell for the Izyaslavichi of Turov. Svyatopolk's eldest surviving son, Bryacheslav, the rightful successor to Monomakh according to the system of lateral succession, was rejected. After that, a prince of Turov would never again rule Kiev.

The status of the Svyatoslavichi was similar. Yaroslav of Chernigov could claim the right to rule Kiev only on the grounds that it had been the throne of his father. However, he would have to assert this claim by force, and he was not cut out for the task. Therefore, he also lost his opportunity. Yaroslav's failure to occupy Kiev meant that his sons, similar to those of Oleg and David, had no claim to Kiev. After Mstislav's accession, therefore, the political future of the Svyatoslavichi looked bleak. It appeared as if, like the Izyaslavichi, they would become an insignificant local dynasty with no more authority than the other debarred families.



To summarize, we have seen that Svyatoslav designated Oleg to succeed him in Chernigov. However, Svyatoslav's brothers Izyaslav and Vsevolod refused to acknowledge the appointment. In imitation of the triumvirate which appropriated Novgorod, Smolensk, and Vladimir from the sons of Vladimir, Vyacheslav, and Igor', the two Yaroslavichi appropriated Chernigov from the Svyatoslavichi. Because Oleg received no support for his

⁴²¹ Under the year 1127 the chronicles refer to a pledge taking ceremony soon after Mstislav became prince of Kiev. In the account, Yaroslav reminded Mstislav how he had pledged his support to Yaroslav and kissed the Holy Cross (Mosk., p. 30; s.a. 1128, Ipat., col. 291).

claim from the princes of Rus' he turned for help to the Polovtsy. In decades to come chroniclers condemned him for this action.

In 1079, through Vsevolod's intervention, Oleg was exiled to Greece and lived there for some four years. Two of these were spent on the island of Rhodes where, it appears, he probably came to know his future wife, a Greek noblewoman. It was also on Rhodes that Oleg evidently discovered the new forms of architecture that he later introduced to Chernigov.

The conditions surrounding Oleg's return to Tmutarakan' are poorly documented. It appears that in exchange for his freedom, a Greek wife, and military aid he promised the imperial court to protect Byzantine commercial interests in the Tmutarakan' area. He made a separate pact with his uncle Vsevolod in Kiev. For his part, Oleg promised never to challenge Vsevolod's rule in Chernigov during the latter's lifetime. As for Vsevolod, he promised not to oppose Oleg's return to Tmutarakan' and to complete the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod which Oleg's father began building before his death. After returning to Tmutarakan' Oleg also re-established friendly ties with the Polovtsy.

Vsevolod's death was the signal for Oleg to renew his fight for Chernigov. In 1094 he led a force of Polovtsy against the town and drove out Vladimir Monomakh. Conceding defeat and also admitting that Chernigov was Oleg's rightful patrimony, Monomakh withdrew to his father's town of Pereyaslavl'. After that it appeared as if the sons of the original triumvirate might be reconciled and, in their turn, form a new one.

However, increased Polovtsian raids on Rus' wrought havoc on Svyatopolk's Kievan domain and Monomakh's Pereyaslavl' lands. The two cousins accused Oleg of being party to these incursions and demanded that he march with them against the Polovtsy. Not trusting his cousins' promises of faithfulness to him, Oleg refused which led to war. Svyatopolk and Monomakh drove him out of Chernigov and defeated him at Starodub; meanwhile Monomakh's son seized Oleg's patrimonial town of Murom.

Relying on the strength of his retinue and whatever forces he could muster, Oleg retaliated. He recaptured Murom, seized Monomakh's Rostov-Suzdal' region, and planned to take Novgorod as well. Oleg intended to negotiate an exchange of Monomakh's territories for the return of Chernigov. He failed. Monomakh's son Mstislav defeated him and forced him to accept unconditional surrender. In this way Oleg found himself at the complete mercy of Monomakh and Svyatopolk; he had no choice but to appear before them and accept their terms.

In 1097 at Lyubech they agreed to return Chernigov to the Svyatoslavichi as their patrimony. However, they deposed Oleg and designated David as the new political head of Chernigov. Therefore, owing to a decree passed at Lyubech, David became the politically senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi. By virtue of his birth, however, Oleg remained the genealogically eldest prince. In this way, David and Oleg became co-rulers of their patrimonial capital. Given Oleg's personal and moral authority, he remained the *de facto* ruler of Chernigov even after the congress.

At Lyubech Svyatoslav's original Chernigov domain was divided up into personal patrimonies for David, Oleg, and Yaroslav. Since Yaroslav retained the right of succession to Chernigov, the Svyatoslavichi evidently agreed to follow the lateral system of succession to the patrimonial capital like the one the three eldest Yaroslavichi were expected to follow to Kiev. While ruling the capital of Chernigov, the eldest Svyatoslavich would also retain control of his private domain.

Oleg and his brothers were also demoted on the national level. As a family, the Svyatoslavichi were relegated to the position below Monomakh. Accordingly, after Svyatopolk's death, Monomakh had first claim to Kiev. In 1097, therefore, the princes of Rus' changed the order of lateral succession to Kiev based on genealogical seniority originally advocated by Yaroslav "the Wise."

Despite the immense pressure that was brought to bear on Oleg to capitulate to all the terms imposed by Svyatopolk and Monomakh, he remained adamant on one point, he refused to betray his Polovtsian allies. However, he agreed to a compromise. Whenever the tribesmen attacked the lands of Rus' Oleg agreed to participate in retaliatory expeditions; he refused to join his cousins on campaigns which were offensive in nature. In this way the Svyatoslavichi were finally reconciled with the other princely families.

After Svyatopolk's death the question of his successor to Kiev arose. According to the system proposed by Yaroslav "the Wise," the rightful claimant was Oleg, but according to the Lyubech agreement it was Monomakh. The Kevans who had already acted as "king makers" in the past, demanded Monomakh. Oleg, who was by that time failing in health, capitulated. He and David concluded an agreement with Monomakh forfeiting their right of succession. Part of the price Monomakh apparently paid his cousins for their submission was to permit the translation of the relics of SS. Boris and Gleb into the new church built by Oleg.

The church had been completed during Svyatopolk's lifetime but, because he was jealous of Oleg's achievement, he refused to grant permission for its consecration. Monomakh granted permission, he claimed, for the glory of his cousins Oleg and David. Although Monomakh attempted to capture some of that glory for himself, Oleg benefited most. The Church of SS. Boris and Gleb became the premier shrine in Rus' and the Svyatoslavichi became the patrons of the most venerated relics in the land. Oleg derived additional personal satisfaction. The popular support his shrine received was testimony to him that at least the faithful of Rus' forgave his alleged crimes against them.

Archaeological evidence shows that Oleg was much more active in building churches than written evidence gives us to believe. After moving to Chernigov from Tmutarakan', he introduced a new style of architecture to Rus'. Even before that date, he probably patronized a monastery and a church dedicated to SS. Gleb and Boris outside Tmutarakan'. As prince of Chernigov he built the Church of the Assumption in the Elets'kiy Monastery, and after 1097 he probably erected a stone church in honour of his patron, St. Michael, in Novgorod Severskiy. Oleg was the first prince after his father Svyatoslav, at whose side he was laid to rest, to be buried in the cathedral of Chernigov. This honour was bestowed only on those princes who actually ruled the patrimonial capital.

After Oleg's death his brother David became sole ruler of Chernigov. He was a loyal subject of the prince of Kiev and answered all his calls to war. David was a lover of peace and noted for his piety. In imitation of Oleg, and evidently with the help of Oleg's architects and builders, he founded the Church of SS. Gleb and Boris in Chernigov in which he was buried. Before his death, like Oleg, he divided up his personal domain among his sons and fragmented his father's original patrimony into even smaller allotments.

The last surviving Svyatoslavich, Yaroslav of Murom, succeeded David to Chernigov. This is proof that the system of lateral succession to the patrimonial capital was followed by Svyatoslav's sons. Each son had the right to rule from the throne of his father. It is also noteworthy that David's son Vsevolod succeeded Yaroslav to Murom. This signified that Murom, like Chernigov, was not Yaroslav's personal domain. It was part of the common patrimony of all the Svyatoslavichi and considered to be the stepping-stone, as it were, for the designated successor to Chernigov. It also signified that at Lyubech Oleg's family was demoted in political status below David's family. Had the original status been maintained

Oleg's son, who was the genealogically eldest, would have occupied Murum ahead of David's son. Indeed, in 1097 the Ol'govichi may have been deprived the right of succession to Chernigov as well.

Yaroslav, like David, was a lacklustre ruler. In 1125 after Monomakh died in Kiev his son Mstislav succeeded him. Yaroslav failed to challenge Mstislav and, like his elder brothers Oleg and David, forfeited the right of succession. Yaroslav's sons therewith became *izgoi*. After that, all of Svyatoslav's grandsons were debarred because not one of them could claim the right to rule on the throne of his father in Kiev.

The Third Generation

A. VSEVOLOD USURPS CHERNIGOV

The sources tell us almost nothing about Vsevolod's early years. Whatever information we have must be gleaned from occasional references to him or from his later activities which give us some insight into his personality. As a result, much uncertainty surrounds the first forty years of his life. Historians, for example, disagree on his baptismal name. Many are of the opinion that it was Cyril (Kirill). They base their observation on the information that before he died Vsevolod founded a monastery dedicated to St. Cyril.¹ According to a generally reliable source, however, Vsevolod's baptismal name was George (Georgy).² In the light of the available evidence, therefore, it is safer to accept the latter name as the correct one.

Later evidence reveals that Vsevolod's wife was the daughter of Mstislav, prince of Kiev, but we are not told the date of their marriage. Although the year 1116 has been suggested for the event it is unconvincing. It is difficult to accept that the politically astute Oleg failed to arrange a marriage alliance for his eldest son before his own death. Presumably the marriage took place soon after Oleg and Monomakh were reconciled at Lyubech.³ Vsevolod and Maria had a number of children, but we are not

¹ Rapov, p. 106; Rybakov, "Pechatky Chernihivs'kykh kniaziv," p. 111 and others. Based on this assumption seals with the image of St. Cyril found in Novgorod have been attributed to Vsevolod (Likhachev, *Materialy*, pp. 82-4; Yanin, *Aktovye pečati*, p. 71). Similarly, it has been suggested that one allegedly belonging to Vsevolod (Cyril) was discovered in the Taman' region (Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, p. 85, Table I, 17; VI, 10; N. V. Engovatov, "Tamanskiy brakteat Vsevoloda [Kirilla] Ol'govicha," *Numizmatika i sfragistika* I [K., 1963], p. 103-8).

² Zotov, pp. 262-3.

³ Ibid. He also reports that, according to one view, the wife's name was Agafia. Although it is possible that Maria was Vsevolod's second wife, this is not indicated in the sources. A seal with the name Maria has been attributed to Vsevolod's wife (Yanin, *Aktovye pečati*, p. 71; cf. Likhachev, *Materialy*, pp. 117-22; fig. 62).

told the dates of their births. To judge from later evidence that Svyatoslav, the eldest son, became politically active in the early 1040s, he was probably born in the 1120s when Vsevolod was prince of Novgorod Severskiy.

Vsevolod was not docile. Basing their evaluation on his activities during the last twenty years of his life, historians paint a picture of an unpleasant man. He was unbridled, devious, greedy, ruthless, unfaithful, and dishonest; he intrigued incessantly and initiated quarrels among his relatives.⁴ If this evaluation were to be taken at face value, it would be necessary to conclude that Vsevolod had no goodness in him whatsoever. Let us see if this truly was the case.

In 1127 Vsevolod drove out his uncle Yaroslav from Chernigov. This was the first instance of internecine war among Svyatoslav's descendants, but not the last. The chronicles give us a comparatively detailed description of the coup d'état. In the first half of the year 1127 Vsevolod drove out Yaroslav from Chernigov, killed the members of his *druzhina*, and confiscated their wealth. Yaroslav fled for help to Monomakh's son Mstislav; the latter, along with his brother Yaropolk of Pereyaslavl', prepared to march against Vsevolod. However, they were informed that Vsevolod had summoned the Polovtsy to his aid so they stayed their attack and Mstislav instructed Yaroslav to return to Murom.

Meanwhile, a band of some seven thousand Polovtsy came to the river Vyr', a tributary of the Seym, and dispatched messengers to Vsevolod for directives. However, they were captured on the river Lokna, a tributary of the Psel, by Yaropolk's *posadniki* who were stationed along the Seym; Mstislav's son Izyaslav was in control of Kursk. Failing to receive word from Vsevolod, the Polovtsy fled to the steppe. On learning this, Mstislav applied more pressure on his son-in-law to vacate Chernigov, but Vsevolod pleaded with him not to attack. He also entreated Mstislav's boyars to support his cause and showered them with gifts. The matter, we are told, remained unresolved throughout the whole year until the winter.⁵

⁴ Kostomarov, *Istoricheskiye monografii*, p. 169. Rybakov claims Vsevolod's baptismal name was Cyril and, accordingly, identifies him with the brigand Churila Plenkovich of the *byliny*. He was a young wealthy dandy, lover to ladies-in-waiting, and leader of a large *druzhina* which terrorized the inhabitants around Kiev with brigandry (*Kievskaya Rus'*, pp. 166-7, 490, and his *Slovo o polku Igoreve i ego sovremeniki*, pp. 103-4).

⁵ Lav., cols. 296-7; s.a. 1128, lpat., cols. 290-1.

In the winter of the same year (1127-28) Yaroslav came from Murom and once again demanded that Mstislav help him drive out Vsevolod from Chernigov. After renewing his allegiance, he pointed out to Mstislav that the latter had an obligation to him as well. Because Mstislav had "kissed the Holy Cross" to Yaroslav, and in keeping with the agreement reached at Lyubech, Mstislav had to protect Yaroslav's right to rule his patrimonial domain. Vsevolod countered Yaroslav's entreaties by pleading his own cause even more vociferously which placed Mstislav in a dilemma: he wished to support Vsevolod, but if he did he would break his oath made to Yaroslav.

The question was finally resolved through the mediation of *Igumen* Grigory of St. Andrew's Monastery who was greatly revered by Mstislav and all the people. Grigory forbade the prince to go to war arguing that it was a lesser evil to break an oath than to shed Christian blood. As there was no metropolitan in Kiev at that time, the abbot summoned a council of all the local prelates. After deliberating on the matter they informed Mstislav that they would take his sin upon themselves. Therefore, it was on their insistence that Mstislav was persuaded to break the pledge he made on the Holy Cross. The chronicler explains that the decision weighed heavily on Mstislav's conscience for the rest of his life. Yaroslav had no alternative but to return to Murom.⁶

How are we to interpret Vsevolod's usurpation and Mstislav's response? Judging from the account, Vsevolod's attack on Chernigov caught his uncle completely by surprise. He fled leaving his *druzhinniki* to fend for themselves. After his eviction he made no effort, or so chronicle information suggests, to rally his sons and the Davidovichi against Vsevolod. Instead, he immediately turned for help to the supreme authority in the land, Mstislav of Kiev. He therewith acted in compliance with the Lyubech agreement. According to the latter it was the duty of the prince of Kiev to assist the wronged prince. Mstislav believed himself to be bound in conscience to do so to judge from the information that he actually summoned his brother Yaropolk to march with him against Vsevolod.

Nevertheless, the sincerity of Mstislav's intent is open to question. Although he cancelled the attack when told that Vsevolod summoned the

⁶ Ipat., s.a. 1128, cols. 290-1; s.a. 1127, Lav., cols. 296-7; for the correct dating see Berezhevskiy, *Khronologiya*, p. 133.

Polovtsy, this in itself is not enough to accuse him of divided loyalties. To be sure, it was a prudent move. The Polovtsy could pillage the domains of Pereyaslavl' and Kiev while the two Monomashichi attacked Chernigov. The threat to their domains was a strong incentive for the two brothers to adopt a policy of caution towards Vsevolod. However, after the Polovtsy fled to the steppe, Mstislav's procrastination in taking action against Vsevolod for the remainder of the year suggests that he was not wholeheartedly in favour of evicting his son-in-law from Chernigov.

Chronicle information suggests that Mstislav and Vsevolod reached an agreement before the month of August. This much can be inferred from the information that Mstislav summoned his son-in-law to march against the Krivichi.⁷ The evidence shows that Mstislav treated Vsevolod as an ally who pledged allegiance to him: he ordered the prince of Chernigov to lead one of the attacks using only Ol'govichi troops. Mstislav was influenced to change his mind, at least in part, by an important practical consideration. The issue of the Krivichi had been simmering for a period of time before August. Since Yaroslav also asked Mstislav for support during the first half of the year, the latter was unwilling to become involved in wars on two fronts, Polotsk and Chernigov, at the same time. He chose, instead, to adopt a conciliatory policy towards Vsevolod and wage war against the Krivichi.

If Vsevolod had to make special concessions to Mstislav for his support we are not told. The price of the settlement may have been Kursk. In 1127 Mstislav's son Izyaslav was prince of Kursk when the Polovtsy came to Vsevolod's assistance. The last chronicle reference to the town was made under 1095 when Mstislav's younger brother fled from there to Murom. However, the town traditionally belonged to the House of Svyatoslav, and, as Oleg's sons asserted at a later date, it had belonged to their father. Mstislav's son was therefore appointed to Kursk either after 1123, when Yaroslav occupied Chernigov, or at the time of Vsevolod's seizure of power before he was able to assert his rule over the entire principality

⁷ On 11 August 1127 Mstislav commanded his brothers, sons, and allies to attack the Krivichi (i.e., the tribes living in the district between Polotsk and Minsk) at four different locations. Vsevolod Ol'govich and his "brothers" were told to march against Strezhev located southeast of Polotsk. The princes did as they were commanded and devastated the lands of Polotsk (Lav., cols. 297-9; s.a. 1128, Ipat., cols. 292-3; Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, pp. 133-4).

of Chernigov.⁸ Therefore, before the campaign against the Krivichi, Vsevolod may have ceded control of Kursk to Mstislav for the duration of his reign in Chernigov.

An examination of their personal and political ties shows that Mstislav had additional reasons for preferring Vsevolod's rule in Chernigov to that of Yaroslav. Mstislav enjoyed a close personal bond with Vsevolod. The latter's children were Mstislav's grandchildren. In addition, the Monomashichi and the Ol'govichi had cultivated amicable relations from the days of Monomakh and Oleg. Vsevolod's father had been Mstislav's godfather.

Furthermore, as Vsevolod became ensconced in Chernigov it became clear to Mstislav that he evidently enjoyed the support of the townsmen. If Mstislav attacked there was no guarantee that he could drive out Vsevolod. Even if he did succeed, the effort would be costly in manpower and resources. In either case, whether Mstislav drove him out or not, Vsevolod would become his enemy. That possibility did not appeal to the prince of Kiev because, in the long run, Vsevolod would prove to be a more dangerous enemy than Yaroslav. He had already demonstrated that he was prepared to call the Polovtsy. However, if Mstislav allowed Vsevolod to remain in Chernigov he could win a powerful ally. To be sure, Vsevolod demonstrated his usefulness to Mstislav when he led the Ol'govichi against the Krivichi.

Practical considerations prompted Mstislav to support Vsevolod, but, by doing so he would break his pledge to Yaroslav. If we can take the chronicler's report at face value, Mstislav was one of those princes who took his father's advice on the inviolability of oaths to heart.⁹ After much soul-searching he finally accepted the moral expedient proposed by *Igumen* Grigory and the council of prelates. He could argue that by allowing Vsevolod to retain his ill-gotten gain he spared the lives of many Christians. Even so, the abbot's solution failed to lessen Mstislav's sense of guilt. This was also of little consolation to Yaroslav who, following Mstislav's

⁸ Some historians believe Mstislav appointed Izyaslav to Kursk after Vsevolod captured Chernigov (e.g., Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 138; Lyaskoronsky, *Istoriya Pereyaslavl'skoy zemli*, p. 329; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 90-1).

⁹ Concerning Monomakh's explanation of the sacredness of an oath see above p. 63.

decision, lost control of the dynastic capital.¹⁰

Vsevolod was his father's son. After Oleg's death he was the first Svyatoslavich to demonstrate any leadership qualities. Similar to his grandfather Svyatoslav he followed the road of violence to power. His most important reason, it appears, was to regain control of his father's patrimony for himself and the Ol'govichi.¹¹ We have no way of knowing if the congress of Lyubech debarred the Ol'govichi from succession to Chernigov. If it did, Vsevolod's action is self-evident: it was the only recourse left to him to win control of his father's patrimony. Even if the Ol'govichi did have the right to sit on the throne of Chernigov after the Davidovichi, this did not guarantee that they would. Three Davidovichi were eligible before them and their rule could last for many years. This was an especially crucial consideration for Vsevolod because, in 1127, he was already some forty years of age. Accordingly, he would probably predecease the youngest Davidovich and be denied the opportunity to rule Chernigov.¹²

His seizure of power was modelled on his grandfather's occupation of Kiev rather than on his father's capture of Chernigov. Oleg drove out Monomakh in 1094 because Chernigov was his rightful inheritance; in 1127 Vsevolod had no claim to Chernigov. He rebelled against the authority of the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi and against the order of succession established at Lyubech. Although Vsevolod had a legitimate right to sit on the throne of his father in Chernigov, his claim, as altered at Lyubech, was remote. As a result, the conditions of Vsevolod's seizure of

¹⁰ Mstislav may also have had a personal reason for supporting Vsevolod. As we shall see, he and his brother Yaropolk of Pereyaslavl' reached an agreement whereby Mstislav's son would succeed Yaropolk on the throne of Kiev thereby displacing the uncle with the right of succession. That is, Mstislav was planning to violate the natural order of succession among the Monomashichi just as Vsevolod had violated it among the Svyatoslavichi (Solov'ev, *Istoriya otnosheniy*, pp. 140-1). By condoning Vsevolod's action Mstislav would help to set a precedent, as it were, for his own son's accession to Kiev.

¹¹ Basing his observation on the assumption that Yaroslav had the right of succession to Kiev ahead of Mstislav, Solov'ev suggested that Vsevolod was probably prompted to depose his uncle as the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi because he had already lost his status of seniority among the Yaroslavichi on the national level to Mstislav (*Istoriya Rossii*, vol. 2 [M., 1962], p. 412).

¹² In fact the youngest Davidovich, Izyaslav, outlived Vsevolod by fifteen years (see Table 4).

power were almost identical to those under which his grandfather Svyatoslav seized Kiev. If Vsevolod failed to take Chernigov by force he would never rule it because there were younger candidates who had prior claims to his.

Vsevolod's stratagem was well executed but we have no way of knowing if he was accompanied by his brothers. Yaroslav was caught completely by surprise. His *druzhina* failed to rally to his defense and his sons were of little help in the distant Murom lands. The Davidovichi also remained inactive even though an Ol'govich pre-empted their prior claim to Chernigov. Vsevolod, the eldest Davidovich, had an additional reason for being discontented with his upstart cousin. After Yaroslav returned to Murom he was forced to withdraw from there to the less important domain he had received from his father David. Surprisingly, therefore, even though Oleg's son threw down the gauntlet to Yaroslav and the Davidovichi, they failed to rise to the challenge. In this way he ended the tradition of cooperation that existed between the three families of Svyatoslavichi.

Vsevolod's bid for power was not over after he occupied Chernigov. He still had to convince Mstislav that it was to his advantage to leave his son-in-law in Chernigov. During the second phase of the usurpation, as it were, Vsevolod had recourse to his talents of persuasion. His acumen is attested to by the fact that he successfully solicited Mstislav's support through the boyars of Kiev, probably through the prelates, and certainly through his wife, Mstislav's daughter. He also had the support of the Polovtsy and could therefore use the threat of Polovtsian attacks on Kiev as a bargaining point in his negotiations with Mstislav. As a result, when the latter confirmed Vsevolod's rule in Chernigov in the winter of 1127, Vsevolod became the most powerful prince among the Svyatoslavichi.

His successful bid for power had important consequences for all three families of Svyatoslavichi. The greatest losses were suffered by Yaroslav. As the genealogically senior prince of the clan he was deprived of the political supremacy that was rightly his and of the patrimonial capital. The sources do not tell us what recompense Yaroslav received from Mstislav and Vsevolod for his loss of Chernigov. However, it is reasonable to assume that Mstislav made some compensation.

He evidently changed the nature of succession and of territorial allotments for the Svyatoslavichi. With Vsevolod's consent, Mstislav decreed that in the future Murom would no longer be part of the common patrimony of the Svyatoslavichi. It was incorporated into Yaroslav's per-

sonal domain which he would rule independently of Chernigov. After 1127 Yaroslav and his descendants became an autonomous family free of any political association with the two senior branches of Svyatoslavichi. The princes of Murom were permanently debarred from succession to Chernigov.¹³

After that the rulers of the Murom region became even more isolated from the affairs of their western cousins and were drawn ever more into the political orbit of the Rostov-Suzdal' region. Nonetheless, occasional chronicle references to the Yaroslavichi made at a later date show that the Yaroslavichi maintained personal contacts with their cousins in Chernigov, as well as an ecclesiastical affiliation.¹⁴

After Vsevolod occupied Chernigov genealogical seniority among the Svyatoslavichi took on a new definition: the family was divided into two dynasties, the one in Chernigov and the one in Murom. Each group followed a separate genealogical order. Moreover, the change of political seniority that the congress of Lyubech introduced for the Ol'govichi and Davidovichi (i.e., that the Davidovichi supersede the Ol'govichi) became, to all intents and purposes, defunct. By capturing Chernigov Vsevolod assumed the office of the politically senior prince in the clan. Since he was already the genealogically eldest prince of the Ol'govichi he obtained by means of force the political seniority that the congress of Lyubech attempted to deny him.

When Mstislav, Vsevolod, and Yaroslav agreed to the separation of Murom from Chernigov, they created two autonomous principalities greatly disproportionate in size. The larger of the two, the Chernigov domain, constituted the territories bounded by the Dnepr in the west, by the Smolensk and Rostov-Suzdal' regions in the north, by the principality of Murom in the east (Kursk would revert to the control of the Ol'govichi at a later date), and by Pereyaslavl' in the south. The Chernigov domain which became the patrimony of the Ol'govichi and the Davidovichi will form the basis of our continued investigation.

¹³ This is supported by information given under the year 1131 which tells us that Yaroslav's sons (Svyatoslav, Rostislav, Yury) the princes of Ryazan', Pronsk, and Murom killed many Polovtsy (s. a. 1131, Nikon., p. 157). Evidently, Yaroslav gave each of his sons a personal domain.

¹⁴ Dimnik, *Mikhail*, pp. 10, 120. The Church in Murom remained under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chernigov until 1187 (Mosk., p. 94).

Vsevolod's control of Chernigov made the Ol'govichi more powerful than the Davidovichi. What is more, by seizing power, Vsevolod gave his sons the right to rule on the throne of their father, and, according to the principle of lateral succession, provided his brothers with the right to succeed him to Chernigov. This gave the Ol'govichi an important advantage.

Perhaps even more significant for the Ol'govichi was the consideration that Vsevolod's newly assumed authority greatly altered their political status in relation to the Monomashichi. Although the Ol'govichi were debarred from Kiev because Oleg failed to occupy it, there always remained the traditional option of force. Vsevolod now possessed the resources to follow that course of action should he choose to do so. He ruled the second most powerful domain in southern Rus'. In 1127, however, Vsevolod demonstrated no such ambition. He was content with his newly acquired authority and chose to live as a loyal vassal of the prince of Kiev.

B. THE SUBSERVIENT SON-IN-LAW

Vsevolod of Chernigov engaged in no independent political or military activity during the remaining years of Mstislav's rule in Kiev. Indeed, as is so often the case, direct chronicle references to the Ol'govichi for this period are few, but the silence of the sources can be construed as positive testimony. It suggests that Vsevolod remained loyal to his father-in-law and lived at peace with his brothers and his cousins the Davidovichi.

The first noteworthy event occurred two years after Vsevolod seized power. In 1129 Vsevolod's uncle Yaroslav, the last surviving son of Svyatoslav and the last prince of his generation among all the Yaroslavichi of Rus', died in Murom.¹⁵ Even though Yaroslav was the genealogically senior prince of all the Svyatoslavichi, his death in no way altered the political seniority of the Ol'govichi and the Davidovichi. Two years earlier Murom had been given independent status from Chernigov; at that time, the Svyatoslavichi of the two principalities severed all political affiliation with each other. However, Yaroslav's death strengthened Vsevolod's authority in Chernigov insofar as he had been Vsevolod's rival for the position of senior prince. Vsevolod also replaced Yaroslav as the genealogically eldest Svyatoslavich; therewith, he became the rightful claimant to Chernigov according to the natural order of succession advocated by Yaroslav

¹⁵ Lav., col. 301; s.a. 1130, Ipat., col. 293; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 134.

"the Wise." As a result of the Lyubech agreement, however, the new prince of Chernigov should have been the eldest Davidovich.

After that, Vsevolod went from strength to strength. During the remaining years of Mstislav's reign he used his authority to ingratiate himself with his father-in-law by supporting Mstislav's national policies. For example, in 1129 he took advantage of two opportunities which presented themselves. On the first occasion, according to a small number of sources, after Mstislav succeeded his father Monomakh, he waged war against the Polovtsy. Whereas Monomakh contained the Polovtsy at the Don, Mstislav drove them even beyond the Volga.¹⁶ Vsevolod, who had pledged his oath of allegiance to Mstislav, undoubtedly sent troops to help the latter.

The second event occurred after the victory in the steppe. At that time, Mstislav summoned the princes of Polotsk (viz. David, Rostislav, Svyatoslav, and the two sons of Rogvolod, Vasily and Ioann), because of their insubordination. They rejected his authority and refused to come to his aid when he called them to the land of Rus'. Therefore, he placed them, their wives, and children into boats and shipped them off to Constantinople into exile. Then Mstislav appointed his own men to their towns.¹⁷ Since only the princes of Polotsk were penalized for disloyalty, all the other princes, including the Ol'govichi and the Davidovich, presumably remained faithful. They supported Mstislav's punitive measure against the House of Polotsk.

The Ol'govichi may have had an added reason for wishing to help Mstislav establish his control over the Krivichi lands. At Lyubech Oleg probably received territories south of Minsk in partial compensation for his loss of Chernigov. In the light of Oleg's past involvement in the region, it is possible that Mstislav, when appointing "his men" to the towns of Polotsk, allocated a number of the towns to his son-in-law Vsevolod. We have no proof of such an allocation. Nevertheless, the evidence supports our observation that Vsevolod collaborated with Mstislav during these years. This is further attested to by an event occurring two years later.

¹⁶ Mosk., p. 31; s.a. 1130, Tver., col. 196.

¹⁷ Mosk., p. 31; cf. s.a. 1130, Ipat., col. 293 where we are told that the princes of Polotsk violated the oath they took on the Holy Cross, indicating that they pledged allegiance to Mstislav. Mstislav gave Polotsk and Minsk to his second son Izyaslav who until then ruled Kursk (Ipat., cols. 211-2, 217-8; Lav., cols. 286-7; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 139).

In 1131 Mstislav marched against the Lithuanians in the company of his sons, the Ol'govichi and Vsevolod of Gorodno (Goroden), the son of David Igorevich who blinded Vasil'ko. The inhabitants fled in fear as the troops of Rus' pillaged and set fire to their towns. However, when the attackers withdrew in disarray, the Lithuanians came in pursuit and killed many of the Kievans.¹⁸

The account is of interest for a number of reasons. It is the first chronicle report of a conflict between the princes of Rus' and the Lithuanians. No reason is given for the attack. One possible explanation is that after Mstislav exiled the Izyaslavichi from their lands, the neighbouring Lithuanians took advantage of the change of rule to attack the lands of Polotsk. As the new overlord of the region it was Mstislav's duty to organize a retaliatory expedition.

His choice of auxiliary troops is noteworthy: in addition to his sons, Mstislav summoned the Ol'govichi but not the Davidovichi. This was probably influenced by the marriage bond that existed between him and his son-in-law Vsevolod. The observation that the leaders of the auxiliary forces, on the whole, had a personal connection with Mstislav is supported by the absence of the Davidovichi as well as of Mstislav's brothers.¹⁹

Since Mstislav's campaign was undoubtedly punitive in nature, the Ol'govichi had an additional reason for participating. As overlord of the Polotsk lands Mstislav marched against the Lithuanians in defense of his vassals. Vsevolod of Gorodno, whose territories were located between those of Polotsk and the Lithuanians, joined the expedition because the Lithuanians were also his enemies. Similarly, the Ol'govichi probably had towns in the regions of Polotsk or Minsk which were ravaged by the Lithuanians.²⁰ As it turned out, the expedition against the Lithuanians was the last one on which Vsevolod would accompany his father-in-law.

¹⁸ See s.a. 1132, Ipat., col. 294; s.a. 1131, Lav., col. 301; NPL, p. 610; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 135.

¹⁹ Even Vsevolod of Gorodno was related by marriage; his wife was Mstislav's sister (Baum., VII, 1). The familial composition of the troops can be compared to the campaign conducted by Svyatopolk against David of Vladimir after the latter blinded Vasil'ko. At that time, the only Svyatoslavich in attendance was Svyatopolk's son-in-law Svyatosha (see above, p. 231).

²⁰ Cf. Bagaley who suggests the Ol'govichi participated simply as loyal vassals and had no direct interest in campaigning against the Lithuanians (*Istoriya Severskoy zemli*, p. 189).

The following year, on Friday 15 April 1132, Mstislav died at fifty six years of age and was buried in the Church of St. Theodore in Kiev which he himself had built. He bequeathed the throne to his eldest surviving brother Yaropolk and entrusted his children into Yaropolk's care.²¹

It is significant that Mstislav assumed the throne of Kiev would be occupied by a member of his family. Following the system of lateral succession he designated Yaropolk as heir. The chroniclers make no reference to any other claimants, presumably, because according the natural order of succession there were none. The Svyatoslavichi were debarred on two counts; Oleg and David forfeited their right of succession to Monomakh, and their sons had no claim because neither Oleg nor David had ruled Kiev. After Mstislav's death, therefore, his brothers and the townsmen treated Kiev as the patrimony of the House of Monomakh.

All the same, there was no guarantee that Yaropolk's accession would meet with general approval. Indeed, the political atmosphere after Mstislav's death was potentially volatile. Mstislav had been a powerful and popular prince when he occupied Kiev; Yaropolk had in no way distinguished himself and still had to assert his authority. Fortunately for him, the Polovtsy presented no threat since Mstislav had driven them beyond the Volga. Nevertheless, Yaropolk had to secure oaths of allegiance from his brothers the Monomashichi, from his nephews the Mstislavichi, and from the other families of princes such as the Svyatoslavichi and the Rostislavichi of Galicia. Unfortunately for Rus', Mstislav's death initiated a protracted conflict among the descendants of Monomakh. Soon after it began, the princes of Chernigov were also drawn into the fray.

C. MONOMAKH'S FAMILY DIVIDED

The Kievans summoned Yaropolk to be their prince. Two days after Mstislav's death, on Sunday 17 April 1132, he came to Kiev.²² No local faction opposed his accession and the townsmen evidently approved the designated ruler unanimously. They asked him to be their prince just as

²¹ See s.a. 1133, Ipat., col. 294. There is much discrepancy in the sources concerning the date of Mstislav's death (Berezhkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 135; Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 142).

²² See s.a. 1133, Ipat., col. 294; s.a. 1132, Lav., col. 301.

they asked his brother Mstislav and his father Monomakh. This evidence reaffirms the observations that a designated successor did not assume control of Kiev on that credential alone. The appointment had to be ratified by the townsmen: they officially invited a prince to rule their town.²³ The smoothness of the transition of power may have persuaded many to believe that Yaropolk's rule would be peaceful. This misconception was quickly dispelled.

The first signs of discontent appeared after Yaropolk made territorial allotments. We are told that he summoned his nephew, Mstislav's eldest son Vsevolod, from Novgorod and gave him Pereyaslavl'. He did this in accord with the oath he swore to Mstislav on the instruction of their father Monomakh because the latter gave the patrimonial domain to both Mstislav and Yaropolk.²⁴ On the very day he occupied it, Vsevolod was driven out by his uncle Yury, later to become known as "Long Arm" (*Dolgorukiy*). He was accompanied by his younger brother Andrey.²⁵ They drove out Vsevolod because, they argued, "our brother Yaropolk, after his death, intends to give Kiev to his nephew Vsevolod."²⁶

Yury was able to hold the town for only eight days. Yaropolk, who again acted in accord with the oath he made to Mstislav, drove Yury out. He then summoned Mstislav's second eldest son Izyaslav from Polotsk to rule Pereyaslavl'. This was also unsatisfactory. In the end, Yaropolk and his brothers seemed to reach an agreement: he gave the town to his brother Vyacheslav who came from Turov. Izyaslav, who lost Pereyaslavl',

²³ According to one view, the appointment of a prince rested solely with the Kievans (B. Włodarski, "Sojusz dwóch seniorów [Ze stosunków polsko-ruskich w XII wieku]," *Europa-Słowiańszczyzna-Polska Studia ku uczczeniu Profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego* [Poznań, 1970], p. 349).

²⁴ Lav., col., 301; cf. s.a. 1131, Mosk., p. 32. It is noteworthy that Monomakh bequeathed the patrimonial domain to two sons. The exact nature of this designation is unknown, but it appears the two lived in Pereyaslavl' at the same time. Yaropolk moved to the town around 1116 and Mstislav after 1117 when he got Belgorod. As the elder of the two he was probably the official ruler. In 1125 when he occupied Kiev Yaropolk became the prince of Pereyaslavl' (Mosk., s.a. 1116, p. 27; s.a. 1125, p. 29; Hrushevsky, *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 118). The reference to dual rule is noteworthy; it reflects the arrangement adopted after Lyubech by Oleg and David in Chernigov.

²⁵ Cf. Nikon., p. 157 which says Svyatopolk accompanied Yury.

²⁶ NPL, pp. 22, 207.

was given Turov and Pinsk in addition to Minsk.²⁷

Izyaslav's eldest brother Vsevolod was less fortunate. The Novgorod chronicler reports that after he was driven out of Pereyaslavl' and returned to Novgorod, the townsmen were unhappy with him. Before Vsevolod had been summoned by Yaropolk to go south he had "kissed the Holy Cross" to them promising to die as their prince. Since he broke the oath the inhabitants of Pskov and Ladoga came to Novgorod and evicted him from the town.²⁸

According to the above information Yaropolk was called upon to arbitrate the first conflict of many between his brothers and nephews soon after he occupied Kiev. His own control of Kiev was never challenged; the controversies raged over other domains, notably, Pereyaslavl'. By acting in accord with the wishes of his father Monomakh and with the oath he made to his brother Mstislav, Yaropolk allocated Pereyaslavl' to Mstislav's sons. His action was challenged by his brothers Yury and Andrey. They realized, correctly, that the Mstislavichi intended to use the town as a stepping stone to Kiev after Yaropolk's death. That is, they intended to pre-empt succession from Yaropolk's younger brothers. They therefore forced Yaropolk to break the oath he had made to Mstislav and give the patrimonial domain to the Monomashich next in precedence after Yaropolk, that is, Vyacheslav.

The dispute over Pereyaslavl' undermined the power of the Mstislavichi. In Novgorod Vsevolod had promised the citizens to be their prince until his death; when Yaropolk summoned him to Pereyaslavl' he broke the oath and therewith incurred the displeasure of the Novgorodians. Similarly, when his brother Izyaslav answered Yaropolk's summons and deserted Polotsk in favour of Pereyaslavl', the townsmen of Polotsk were unhappy with his conduct and evicted the Mstislavichi from their land. Later in the year, Izyaslav, like his elder brother Vsevolod, was deprived of Pereyaslavl' itself. Although he was compensated for its loss with the towns of Turov and Pinsk, these were not as important as Polotsk where he had originally ruled. As a result, there can be no doubt that the Mstislavichi were displeased with Yaropolk's inability to enforce his appointments. Although the chronicler would have us believe that he established

²⁷ Lav., cols. 301-2, s.a. 1131, Mosk., p. 32.

²⁸ NPL, pp. 22-3, 207; Tver., cols. 197-8.

peace in his family by the end of the year, the seeds of contention were sown.

The Ol'govichi were in no way implicated in the disputes, but they were not uninterested observers: the rivalries effected them directly. Pereyaslavl' was Chernigov's southern neighbour, if Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi went to war their troops would traverse the lands of Chernigov. Yury had already brought his army from the Rostov-Suzdal' region to Pereyaslavl'. Vsevolod of Chernigov would therefore be forced either to grant or deny the right of passage to the rivals. Inevitably, he would have to choose sides. It would be difficult for Vsevolod to remain an impartial observer in a conflict in which his brothers-in-law were involved. Much pressure would be brought to bear on him to support the Mstislavichi.

Vsevolod undoubtedly kept a close watch on developments in Novgorod. Two princes of Chernigov, Vsevolod's uncles Gleb and David, had ruled the town. Should the Novgorodians quarrel with the House of Monomakh the Svyatoslavichi were the most likely family to whom the citizens would turn for a prince. Moreover, Polotsk and Turov were less important to Chernigov than Pereyaslavl' and Novgorod, but in the past the Svyatoslavichi demonstrated an active interest in the territories located north of the Pripyat' below Minsk. Although it cannot be verified, Mstislav probably gave the Ol'govichi control of a number of towns in the region, and they undoubtedly wished Yaropolk to renew that allocation.

Finally, Vsevolod could not look on disinterestedly as the House of Monomakh turned upon itself for the first time. If the strongest family in the land became divided, the Svyatoslavichi would be given an excellent opportunity to advance their own political interests. The decision how best to take advantage of the situation rested with the prince of Chernigov.

During the following year (1133) the controversy continued to simmer. Evidently, Izyaslav co-operated with Yaropolk by collecting tribute from Novgorod and Smolensk at his command. However, Yaropolk's brothers were not as compliant. Vyacheslav was unhappy with his lot in Pereyaslavl' and wished to return to Turov. The reasons for his discontent were unusual for a prince of Rus'. Even though he was next in precedence after Yaropolk, he had no interest in ruling the patrimonial domain or succeeding his brother to Kiev. He was forced to occupy Pereyaslavl' against his will because his younger brothers, Yury and Andrey, wished to ensure that all of Monomakh's sons retained their right of succession. Although Pereyaslavl' had a dynastic importance for the House of Monomakh,

Vyacheslav preferred to rule Turov. He therefore attempted to abandon Pereyaslavl'; but he got no further than Gorodets located on the left bank northeast of Kiev, before he was forced to turn back at Yaropolk's insistence.²⁹ According to one chronicle which alone has the information, after being foiled in his attempt to return to Turov, Vyacheslav rode to Ryazan' and seized the town from the Yaroslavichi.³⁰

Vyacheslav's attack on Ryazan' was unexpected, but not without precedent. In 1095 Monomakh's son Izyaslav abandoned Kursk and seized control of Murom from Oleg. Whereas Izyaslav's usurpation led to his death and a protracted war between Oleg and Monomakh's family, Vyacheslav's action had no significant consequences. Indeed, most chroniclers did not consider the event sufficiently noteworthy to report. According to the source which does record the event, Vyacheslav withdrew from Ryazan' soon after and returned to Pereyaslavl'. Yaropolk berated him for acting "like a Polovtsian" and commanded him to remain quietly in Pereyaslavl'.³¹ Vyacheslav refused to obey. During the early part of 1134 he drove out his nephew Izyaslav from Turov and occupied the town.³²

Yaropolk was incapable of controlling his capricious brother. As a result, after Vyacheslav seized Turov, Yaropolk once again had to provide a domain for his evicted nephew, Izyaslav, and to find a prince for Pereyaslavl'. The logical solution to appoint Izyaslav to Pereyaslavl' was unacceptable to his brothers Yury and Andrey. Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi therefore remained at loggerheads.

In 1134 Yury finally persuaded his eldest brother to give him the patrimonial capital in exchange for his own domain of Rostov-Suzdal' and the rest of his lands, "but not all of them." When Izyaslav, who was now relegated to ruling Minsk, learnt that he and his brothers were denied control of Pereyaslavl' once again, and that it was given to a prince who had no immediate claim to it, he went to his elder brother Vsevolod in Novgorod. There, the Mstislavichi (viz. Vsevolod, Izyaslav, and Svyatopolk) concluded a pact with Vsevolod of Chernigov, his brothers, and the Davidovichi and declared war on Monomakh's sons.

²⁹ Lav., col. 302; Mosk., p. 32.

³⁰ Nikon., p. 158; Tat., 4, p. 189; 2, p. 145.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Lav., col. 302; Ipat., col. 295; Berezhevskiy, *Khronologiya*, p. 50.

The main objective of the allies, to judge from their conduct, was to secure a domain for Izyaslav rather than to fight for control of Pereyaslavl'. Since Yury exchanged the Rostov-Suzdal' region for Pereyaslavl', Vsevolod of Novgorod attempted to seize it for his younger brother. Unfortunately for the Mstislavichi, after they entered the Rostov lands the Novgorodians who accompanied them quarrelled and turned back. The loss of Novgorodian troops forced the Mstislavichi to abandon their expedition: Vsevolod returned to Novgorod and Izyaslav withdrew to Volok Lamskiy, an eastern outpost of Novgorod. Later, in the autumn, when Izyaslav was informed that Yaropolk and his brothers were preparing to invade Chernigov, he went to the aid of his allies.³³

Yaropolk, accompanied by Yury and Andrey, marched against Chernigov but did not attack the town. Vsevolod refused to come out to do battle because he had summoned the Polovtsy and was waiting for them to arrive. Monomakh's sons pillaged the towns around Chernigov for a number of days and returned to their lands in November. Yaropolk disbanded his troops even though he failed to conclude peace. In the winter, the Polovtsy arrived and Vsevolod went into the field with the largest army he had ever assembled.

This was the first time he challenged Yaropolk directly. Besides the Polovtsy, he was accompanied by the Ol'govichi, the Davidovichi, and two Mstislavichi, Izyaslav and Svyatopolk. He pillaged the lands of Pereyaslavl', burned the towns, and butchered the inhabitants. On the Feast of St. Andrew, 30 November, his troops reached the environs of Kiev and set fire to a number of towns on the left bank. They took many captives and drove off huge herds of cattle and horses. Neither Vsevolod nor Yaropolk could cross the Dnepr with his troops so the Ol'govichi stayed in a pine forest near Gorodets for three days and then returned to Chernigov. After that, we are told, the two sides exchanged envoys and concluded peace.

The settlement was unsatisfactory. The Ol'govichi renewed their demands on Yaropolk; they insisted he give them the same domains their father Oleg controlled during the reign of Monomakh. If Yaropolk refused, the Ol'govichi argued, they would not be held responsible for the consequences: Yaropolk was the transgressor and the blood which would be spilt would be on his hands.

³³ Lav., cols. 302-3; Mosk., p. 32; s.a. 1134: NPL, pp. 23, 208; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 50.

Then the chronicler explains the initial cause of the dispute between the Mstislavichi and their uncles. It arose because Yury drove out Mstislav's eldest son, Vsevolod, from Pereyaslavl', then Yury's brother Vyacheslav drove out Izyaslav from the same town, and, finally, Vyacheslav abandoned Pereyaslavl' and seized Turov from Izyaslav. Ultimately, the Mstislavichi had no other option but to seek help from the Ol'govichi. And so, we are told, there was much enmity between the two sides, and the princes of Chernigov refused to let Monomakh's sons forget they were in the wrong. Monomakh's sons paid no heed to their protests. In the winter of 1134-35 Yaropolk assembled the Kievan troops and Yury those of Pereyaslavl' and for eight days³⁴ they stood near Kiev threatening to march against Chernigov. Finally, Yaropolk and Vsevolod made peace once again. On this occasion, Yaropolk gave Pereyaslavl' to his brother Andrey and Izyaslav received Andrey's former domain of Vladimir in Volynia. Yury was send back to Rostov-Suzdal'.³⁵

During the same winter Izyaslav's elder brother Vsevolod, prince of Novgorod, renewed his efforts to seize control of the Rostov-Suzdal' land. On 31 December 1134 he led the troops of Novgorod, Pskov, and Ladoga against Yury's former domain. After braving bitter cold he engaged the enemy in battle on 26 January 1135, but Vsevolod and his allies were soundly defeated.³⁶

By the end of the year 1134 the conflict over Pereyaslavl' became clearly defined between two camps: Monomakh's sons against their nephews the Mstislavichi and the princes of Chernigov. Yaropolk, as prince of Kiev, found himself mediating between two camps in his own family over what appeared to be a seemingly unsolvable issue. Having recourse to the "testament" of Yaroslav "the Wise," Yaropolk's brothers and nephews both demanded that he, Yaropolk, defend their rights, and each camp accused the other of wrongdoing. Yaropolk's task was made all the more difficult by the consideration that each group had authority on its side.

³⁴ Cf. *Ipat.* which erroneously has 50 days (col. 297).

³⁵ *Ipat.*, cols. 295-7; *Lav.*, col. 303; *Mosk.*, p. 32.

³⁶ See s.a. 1134, *NPL*, pp. 23, 208; cf. s.a. 1135: *Lav.*, col. 303; *Mosk.*, p. 32. Evidently the troops of Suzdal' were commanded by Yury's son Rostislav (*L'vov.*, s.a. 1136, pp. 105-6); Yury returned to Rostov from Pereyaslavl' after the battle (see s.a. 1137, *Ipat.*, col. 300).

The Mstislavichi pointed to their grandfather Monomakh, their father Mstislav, and Yaropolk himself as their authorities. These princes, relying on the authority vested in them by the office of prince of Kiev, countermanded the traditional principle of lateral succession. In the instance of Yaropolk they decreed he would be succeeded not by his eldest surviving brother, but by Mstislav's eldest surviving son. That is, just as Monomakh attempted to secure Kiev for his descendants, Mstislav wished to secure it as the patrimonial domain for his sons after Yaropolk's death.³⁷ To help the Mstislavichi occupy the capital of Rus', the princes also attempted to guarantee that Pereyaslavl', the "stepping stone" to Kiev, would become the permanent possession of Mstislav's family.

Yury and Andrey rejected the new order of succession. They claimed the right of succession belonged to all of Monomakh's sons according to the age-old system of lateral succession; that is, the next brother in precedence, Vyacheslav, was the legitimate successor to Yaropolk, first in Pereyaslavl' and then in Kiev. They demonstrated their determination to press their claim with the use of force.

Interestingly enough, the Mstislavichi were at first seemingly willing to capitulate to the demands of their uncles. After Vsevolod and Izyaslav were driven out of Pereyaslavl' each accepted another domain in compensation. It was only after Izyaslav was driven out of Turov and given no town in its place that the Mstislavichi resolved to form an alliance with the prince of Chernigov and wage war against their uncles. Even then, according to the claim made by Vsevolod of Novgorod, their main objective was to secure Rostov-Suzdal' for Izyaslav. Their failure to do so left Izyaslav without a domain and, after that, the struggle for Pereyaslavl' took on a new intensity. Ultimately, the conflict over the town became a struggle for control of Kiev and supremacy in Rus'.

The Ol'govichi promised to help the Mstislavichi obtain a domain, but they used the opportunity to assert their own claim as well. This is indicated by an enigmatic statement the Ol'govichi made to Yaropolk in the winter of 1134-35 after the first peace settlement. They demanded that Yaropolk return the domains ruled by their father during the reign of Monomakh. Since they asked for lands ruled by Oleg, they made the

³⁷ The reason why Yaropolk agreed to Monomakh's and Mstislav's revised plan of succession, a plan which excluded his own heirs from ruling Pereyaslavl' and Kiev, was because he apparently had no sons (Baum., V, 10).

request on their own behalf and not for the Mstislavichi. However, the territories in question are not identified. To be sure, this is the first reference in the sources that the Ol'govichi lost lands to the House of Monomakh after Oleg's death.³⁸

In examining the military encounters between Monomakh's sons and the Ol'govichi, it is noteworthy that Yaropolk and his brothers attacked first. Or, rather, Yaropolk led an offensive campaign against Chernigov, but refused to attack the town. Since Vsevolod was waiting for the Polovtsy, Yaropolk could have taken advantage of the situation to besiege the town before the reinforcements arrived. This was not the case. Instead, he merely pillaged a number of the surrounding villages and withdrew. Similarly, at a later date when Vsevolod finally went into the field with the largest force he had ever marshalled, he merely pillaged the Monomashichi lands. He avoided engaging Yaropolk in an all-out battle. Although the chronicler makes the convenient excuse that neither prince could cross the river owing to winter conditions, in fact, the princes were merely engaging in sabre rattling tactics. After levying accusations against each other through their envoys they concluded peace.

Vsevolod and Yaropolk had good reason for avoiding war; it was not their fight. Yaropolk was coerced by his younger brothers into campaigning on their behalf, and Vsevolod was helping his brothers-in-law. It is not surprising, therefore, that their second peace agreement was a compromise. Vyacheslav refused to rule Pereyaslavl'; Yury, agreed to rule it but refused to relinquish control of his Rostov-Suzdal' domain to the Mstislavichi. As a compromise, Andrey was persuaded to exchange his domain of Vladimir for the more important Pereyaslavl'.³⁹ Yaropolk then gave Vladimir to Izyaslav and placated the Mstislavichi. The arrangement also satisfied Yury and Andrey even though the latter, as the youngest Monomashich, had no immediate claim to Pereyaslavl'. For the uncles, the important consideration was that his presence in Pereyaslavl' prevented the Mstislavichi from using it as a "stepping stone" to Kiev. In this way peace was restored in the House of Monomakh for the nonce.

Under the year 1135 the NPL has an enigmatic entry. We are told

³⁸ The territory in question was the Posem'e region around Kursk which Mstislav evidently appropriated in 1127 (see above, pp. 316-7).

³⁹ As we have seen, according to the allocations Yaroslav "the Wise" made to his sons, Vladimir was placed after Pereyaslavl' in importance.

that *Posadnik* Miroslav of Novgorod went south to pacify the Kievans and the Chernigovans, but failed. As a result, the land erupted into violence. Yaropolk invited the Novgorodians to join his side and the prince of Chernigov did the same, but the Novgorodians helped neither. When the two sides went to war in August, God helped Vsevolod and the citizens of Chernigov; they killed many Kievans and others they took captive.⁴⁰

It is interesting to note that only the Novgorod chronicles inform us of Miroslav's intervention even though the chronicles written in the south record the fighting in greater detail. This suggests that the *posadnik's* role as conciliator was less important than the Novgorodians might wish us to believe. All the same, his intervention signifies that Novgorod had good relations with both Kiev and Chernigov and feared jeopardizing its interests there. Conversely, the information that the prince of each town invited the Novgorodians to join him is proof that neither Kiev nor Chernigov wished to sever its ties with Novgorod.

The most obvious reason for the Novgorodians' concern was self-interest: war between the two most important towns in southern Rus' would curb the flow of commerce from them. In addition, it is noteworthy that the northern chronicler demonstrates a greater interest in the activities of the southern townsmen than in that of their princes. Indeed, if our knowledge of the controversy had come solely from the Novgorod sources, we would be forced to conclude that the rivalry existed between the citizens of the two towns. However, to judge from the southern accounts which completely fail to mention Miroslav's mediation, the rivalry was centred on control of princely patrimonial domains.

A comparison of the different chronicle accounts suggests that, in 1135, the battles occurred in the following manner. Vsevolod and all his brothers, the Ol'govichi and the Davidovichi, invaded Andrey's domain, pillaged the districts along the Sula, and then marched against Pereyaslavl' itself. They besieged the town for three days. On learning that Yaropolk was marching against them they withdrew to the upper reaches of the river Supoy, northeast of Pereyaslavl', and waited for him. Yaropolk arrived with his brothers Vyacheslav, Yury, and Andrey; he believed that the sheer size of his army would frighten the Ol'govichi to flight. Therefore, we are told, he neglected to engage in battle in an organized manner. Yaropolk gauged the Polovtsy correctly. At the sight of his immense

⁴⁰ NPL, p. 208, cf. p. 23.

army they took to their heels. Yaropolk's senior officials and his *druzhina* set off in pursuit.

Monomakh's sons stayed behind to do battle with the Ol'govichi who held their ground. There were heavy losses on both sides but, eventually, the princes of Chernigov got the upper hand and the Monomashichi fled. As a result, when the boyars who had pursued the Polovtsy returned to the field of battle, they fell unsuspectingly into Vsevolod's hands. In that manner many of them were killed and others taken captive. As for Yaropolk, he arrived safely in Kiev on 8 August, and Andrey returned to Pereyaslavl'. Vsevolod continued his offensive. After crossing the Dnepr he stood before the walls of Vyshgorod for seven days threatening to storm it. Then Yaropolk assembled new troops and Vsevolod withdrew to Chernigov. Later, the two princes exchanged envoys with terms of peace but failed to reach a settlement.

Some four months later, on 29 December 1135, Vsevolod renewed his attack. He was again accompanied by his brothers and the Polovtsy. They crossed the Dnepr and invaded the territories south of Kiev; beginning with Tropol' they⁴¹ moved to Krasn, Vasil'ev, and Belgorod. Then they moved north and crossed the river Lybed' to the south of Kiev. There they came face to face with Yaropolk and the forces he had assembled from "all the lands." However, we are told that Yaropolk feared the judgement of God and refused to shed Christian blood. On 12 January 1136, Yaropolk and Vsevolod made peace and kissed the Holy Cross in the presence of Metropolitan Mikhail. Yaropolk finally gave the Ol'govichi the patrimony that they demanded and resolved the conflict.⁴¹

According to the Novgorod chronicler, another mediator also arrived on the scene of battle to reconcile the two camps. Archbishop Nifont accompanied by prominent Novgorodians arrived just as the Kievans and the Chernigovans stood poised for battle, but "by the grace of God" they were pacified.⁴² Since *Posadnik* Miroslav failed to reconcile the two sides earlier in the year, the Novgorodians believed the archbishop might have a better chance. It is uncertain how significant a part Nifont played in the settlement, indeed, the southern sources neglect to even mention his

⁴¹ See s.a. 1136: Ipat., cols. 297-300; Lav., cols. 303-4; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, pp. 136-7.

⁴² NPL, pp. 23-4; 208-9.

presence. However, the information that Yaropolk aborted the battle for a religious reason suggests that Nifont and other prelates may have influenced his decision.⁴³

Let us examine the events of 1135 in greater detail. At the beginning of the year Yaropolk evidently placated his nephews, the Mstislavichi, when he gave Izyaslav the town of Vladimir. They caused him no trouble during the year. However, their allies the Ol'govichi remained dissatisfied with Yaropolk because he refused to return their unidentified domain. Vsevolod's campaigns show he had developed great political confidence, so much so, that he challenge Yaropolk with only Svyatoslavichi resources and the Polovtsy. In August, for the first time, he declared war on Monomakh's sons without the backing of the Mstislavichi. Vsevolod also made an unprecedented attack on Pereyaslavl'. Moreover, he engaged the four Monomashichi in the first all-out battle, something he avoided doing when he campaigned on behalf of the Mstislavichi. Finally, the prince of Chernigov crossed the Dnepr and invaded the lands of Kiev, also for the first time. This was his most serious offense because it was a direct attack on the authority of the senior prince of Rus' himself.

Therewith, the conflict which began as an internal squabble among the descendants of Monomakh assumed national proportions. Not surprisingly, Yaropolk shied away from another full-scale war even though he again conscripted forces from "all the lands." We are told that he refused to wage war because he did not wish to shed Christian blood. There can be little doubt that Yaropolk was also influenced by considerations more practical in nature. The memory of his recent defeat at the hands of the Ol'govichi was vivid in his mind; to be sure, Yaropolk's most illustrious boyars were still being held captive in Chernigov. Commercial arguments were probably brought to bear as well. Prominent Novgorodians arrived with their archbishop advocating peace between Kiev and Chernigov in order to resume the flow of trade between the three most powerful cities in Rus'. All these factors helped to influence Yaropolk's decision to negotiate a peaceful settlement and return to the Ol'govichi the domain they requested.

We are told neither the territory which Vsevolod demanded nor

⁴³ In 1127 Abbot Grigory of St. Andrew's Monastery had persuaded Mstislav not to wage war against Vsevolod for the same reason, that is, in order to save Christian lives (see above, p. 315).

when it was taken from Chernigov. Since Oleg ruled the district during the reign of Monomakh in Kiev, the period in question is between the years 1113, Monomakh's accession, and 1115, Oleg's death. Because the loss occurred after Oleg's death, the prince who appropriated the territory could have been Monomakh or one of the sons who succeeded him, that is, Mstislav or Yaropolk. The Svyatoslavich who lost it was either David, Yaroslav, or Vsevolod himself.

There is good reason to believe that the region in question was Kursk and the surrounding Posem'e. It was one of the few territories which changed hands sporadically between the princes of Chernigov and Pereyaslavl'. In 1095 Monomakh's son Izyaslav deserted Kursk, where he evidently was prince, and captured Murom. There is no record of who replaced Izyaslav. However, as has been suggested, Monomakh probably handed over the territory to Oleg in 1097 as part of the Lyubech agreement. Later, in 1127 when Vsevolod usurped Chernigov, Kursk was again in Monomashichi hands because, we are told, Mstislav appointed his son Izyaslav to the town.

This sequence of events suggests that Mstislav seized the town either from Yaroslav when the latter occupied Chernigov in 1123, or four years later from Vsevolod as a condition for recognizing the latter's rule in Chernigov. The year 1127 is probably the correct one.⁴⁴ The likelihood that Kursk was the region which Yaropolk returned to the Svyatoslavichi on 12 January 1136 is strongly supported by information given under the following year. In 1137, as we shall see, Vsevolod's younger brother Gleb went to Novgorod with troops from Kursk where he was prince. Although we lack definitive proof that the territory in question was Kursk, it is important to note that in January of 1136 the Ol'govichi were finally appeased.

The remainder of the year was peaceful as the princes of Chernigov and Kiev recouped their losses. Of the two, Vsevolod had greater reason to be pleased with the outcome. He had successfully assisted his in-laws,

⁴⁴ See above, pp. 316-7. A number of historians believe Mstislav took Kursk in 1127 (e.g., Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, pp. 147-9, and his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 320; Mavrodin, "Ocherk istorii drevney Rusi," p. 28; Tolochko, *Kiev i Kievskaya zemlya*, p. 118; Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," pp. 92, 94 and others). Cf. Pogodin who says Yaropolk took Kursk from the Ol'govichi ("Mezhdousobnyya voyny," bk 2, p. 66).

the Mstislavichi, to obtain a domain for Izyaslav, and he had regained control of Kursk for his own family. With the settlement, he also scored an important moral victory over Yaropolk and his prestige grew in Rus'. In the first real test of power between Monomakh's sons and the Ol'govichi, Vsevolod proved that the princes of Chernigov were once again a power of the first order. His energetic campaigns, his undisputed control of his subordinates, his alliances with the Polovtsy, his close bond of friendship with the Mstislavichi all redounded to his glory. The first public recognition of his achievements came only a few months after the peace settlement, and it came from a very important quarter indeed.

D. AN OL'GOVICH IN NOVGOROD

In 1136 the prince of Novgorod was Vsevolod, the eldest Mstislavich. The townsmen became discontented with him, summoned the citizens of Pskov and Ladoga, and deposed him. They accused him of four offenses: he neglected the peasants (*smerdy*); he abandon Novgorod in order to rule Pereyaslavl'; he fled from the field of battle (i.e., in the Rostov-Suzdal' land) ahead of everyone else; and at first he ordered them to form an alliance with Vsevolod of Chernigov, but now he demanded they break it. Therefore, on 28 May the citizens imprisoned Vsevolod in the bishop's court along with his wife, mother-in-law, children, and boyars.⁴⁵ They released him some two months later, on 15 July, after summoning a new prince, but they kept his son Vladimir as a hostage. Vsevolod fled to his uncle Yaropolk in Kiev and the latter gave him Vyshgorod where he remained for one year.

On 19 July Svyatoslav arrived from Chernigov. Later in the year, probably after 6 November, he was married in the Church of St. Nicholas.⁴⁶ However, we are told that the ceremony had to be performed by

⁴⁵ In 1123 Vsevolod of Novgorod evidently married the daughter of Svyatosha of Chernigov (NPL, pp. 21, 205; Zotov, pp. 263, 266). After Svyatosha became a monk his wife accompanied her daughter to Novgorod.

⁴⁶ Since a Church of St. Nicholas, presumably the same one, was consecrated on 5 December 1136 (NPL, p. 209), Svyatoslav's marriage took place soon after. It is noteworthy that Svyatoslav's Christian name was Nicholas (Zotov, pp. 39, 264-5). A number of seals bearing the names of St. Nicholas and St. Michael were found in Novgorod. They have been attributed to Svyatoslav since his baptismal name was Nicholas and that of his father Oleg was Mikhail (Yarin, *Actovye pechati*, pp.

the prince's own priests rather than those of Novgorod because Archbishop Nifont neither allowed the Novgorod ones to officiate nor permitted them and the monks to attend the ceremony.

The reason for his opposition is not explained. The chronicler simply states that Nifont told Svyatoslav: "it is not fitting for you to take her [as your wife]." The prince, as we have seen, had married a Polovtsian princess in 1107, but we are not told whether she was still alive or had died. The archbishop may have considered the first marriage, or some other unspecified reason, to be an impediment to the second marriage.⁴⁷ However, the information that Svyatoslav's priest was allowed to perform the ceremony suggests that Nifont's opposition was not canonical.

The archbishop was an adherent of the faction which opposed Svyatoslav's rule for political reasons. He was probably opposed to an Ol'govich marrying into a Novgorod boyar family because this would give the princes of Chernigov a familial bond in the town. To be sure, soon after the archbishop failed to stop the marriage an attempt was made on Svyatoslav's life. Sympathizers of Vsevolod Mstislavich tried to assassinate him by shooting him with arrows. The chronicler concludes his report with the terse comment: "but he survived."⁴⁸

Thus we see that even though the majority of the people were displeased with Mstislav's son Vsevolod, a small group continued to give him strong support. Although the Novgorodians levied four accusations against him the last one is the most relevant to our investigation. They complained that first he demanded they form an alliance with the prince of Chernigov (i.e., after Izyaslav had been evicted from Turov by Vyacheslav) and later (i.e., before 28 May) instructed them to break it. The latter half of the accusation is puzzling since there is no report of a falling out between the Mstislavichi and Vsevolod of Chernigov after the latter helped Izyaslav secure control of Vladimir. However, it is possible that, as a condition of Izyaslav's appointment to Vladimir, Yaropolk demanded the

104-5).

⁴⁷ The identity of the Novgorodian wife is not given. According to the *Lyu-bech sinodik* the name of Svyatoslav's wife was Catharine (Zotov, pp. 39, 265). Another view has it that she was the daughter of *Posadnik* Petrilo of Novgorod (Tat., 4., p. 193; 2, p. 148; Baum., IV, 15; Rybakov, "Russkie datirovannye nadpisi XI-XIV vekov," pp. 23-4).

⁴⁸ NPL, pp. 209, cf. 24.

Mstislavichi break off their pact with the Ol'govichi. Yaropolk's willingness to help his evicted nephew Vsevolod by giving him the Kievan outpost of Vyshgorod bespeaks such a rapprochement. Since Vsevolod was the senior prince of the Mstislavichi he reflected his family's policy.

The Novgorodians refused to be coerced by the eldest Mstislavich into adopting his family's policy. Not only did they considered it foolish to sever ties with Chernigov after Vsevolod successfully brought the prince of Kiev and his brothers to heel, but they had serious complaints against their own prince. Therefore, they deposed him and requested Vsevolod of Chernigov to send them a prince. In this way the Novgorodians severed their longstanding association with Monomakh's family and contravened Yaropolk's wishes.

The townsmen had a precedent for disclaiming the authority of the prince of Kiev. In 1102 they had successfully challenged his overlordship by selecting Monomakh's son Mstislav. They also had precedents for choosing a Svyatoslavich to govern them. In the last quarter of the eleventh century two Svyatoslavichi, Gleb and David, had ruled Novgorod. On this occasion, as in the past, the Novgorodians made their choice from practical considerations.

The entrepreneurs of Novgorod believed their commercial interests would be best served by Vsevolod of Chernigov. He had proven himself to be the most successful ruler in Rus': he had usurped control of the patrimonial domain from his uncle Yaroslav, he had helped to divide the House of Monomakh by supporting the Mstislavichi against their uncles, and he had scored an important victory against Yaropolk by regaining control of Kursk. The alliance that the Novgorodians offered him further undermined the power structure Monomakh and Mstislav had attempted to create for their family. Novgorod's backing made Vsevolod a powerful rival to Yaropolk himself. By 1136, therefore, Vsevolod regained for the prince of Chernigov that national stature which the latter had lost after the death of Svyatoslav, the progenitor of the dynasty.

Concomitantly, the prestige of the prince of Kiev waned when Yaropolk capitulated to Vsevolod and returned Kursk to the Ol'govichi. It dropped even lower when the Novgorodians spurned his authority. However, the loss of Novgorod effected the Mstislavichi even more. After Vsevolod was expelled he had no domain. Yaropolk was forced to give him Vyshgorod as a temporary measure. Once again, therefore, his nephew's plight placed Yaropolk in a quandary like the one he had experienced with Izyaslav: it fell upon his shoulders to provide his nephew with

a domain. Unfortunately for Yaropolk, all the domains traditionally ruled by his family were occupied, and it appeared impossible to reinstate Vsevolod in Novgorod against the wishes of its citizens and the authority of the prince of Chernigov. Nevertheless, the situation in Novgorod was not as hopeless as it appeared at first glance.

The assassination attempt on Svyatoslav demonstrated that there remained strong factional support for the Mstislavichi. Vsevolod of Chernigov was evidently aware of this opposition to his family and attempted to strengthen Ol'govichi control in Novgorod by forming a marriage alliance. He arranged for Svyatoslav to marry a woman from one of the most powerful families in Novgorod, that is, one which produced a number of *posadniki*.⁴⁹

Svyatoslav also took other action which he evidently hoped would strengthen the loyalty of his supporters in Novgorod. Although the exact date is unknown, it is generally believed that in 1137 he issued a statute (*ustav*) to regulate the relationship between the Church and the prince in Novgorod. The document tells us nothing about the political events surrounding it. In the main it records an agreement between the prince and the archbishop concerning the nature of Church income, in particular, the size of the tithe.⁵⁰ Svyatoslav modelled his statute on two earlier ones: the one from Kiev which Yaroslav "the Wise" and his father Vladimir drew up, and the one from Novgorod which Svyatoslav's predecessors there had used.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Petrilo Mikul'chich, Svyatoslav's alleged father-in-law and former *posadnik*, was killed at Zhdana gora on 26 January 1135 (NPL, pp. 23, 208). After *Posadnik* Miroslav died on 28 January 1136, he was replaced by a Konstantin Mikul'chich (NPL, pp. 24, 209), presumably the brother of Petrilo.

⁵⁰ For the text see "Ustav Svyatoslava Ol'govicha," in *Dva pamyatnika Novgorodskoy pis'mennosti*, by M. N. Tikhomirov and M. V. Shchepkina, in *Trudy gosudarstvennogo istoricheskogo muzeya, Pamyatniki kul'tury*, vypusk VIII (M., 1952), pp. 18-24; and, Shchapov, *Drevnerusskie knyazheskie ustavy XI-XV vv.*, pp. 147-8. Concerning copies of the text see Shchapov, *Knyazheskie ustavy i tserkov v drevney Rusi*, p. 151 and his "Novyy spisok Novgorodskogo ustava knyazya Svyatoslava Ol'govicha (iz sobraniya E. E. Egorova)," *Zapiski otdela rukopisey*, vypusk 26 (M., 1963), pp. 395-8. See also D. H. Kaiser, *The Growth of the Law in Medieval Russia* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 58-9.

⁵¹ Ya. N. Shchapov, "Tserkov v sisteme gosudarstvennoy vlasti drevney Rusi," *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo i ego mezhdunarodnoe znachenie*, eds. V. T. Pashuto and L. V. Cherepnin (M., 1965), pp. 282-3.

It is impossible to know from the context of Svyatoslav's document whether the measures he enacted benefited the prince or the bishop. Because of the ambiguity in the text historians disagree on the question.⁵² The need to redefine the relationship between the Church and the prince evidently arose because the citizens who successfully evicted Vsevolod were opposed to his policies. The latter were supported by Vsevolod's faction constituting, in the main, the boyars and Nifont. The archbishop's continued animosity during the course of Svyatoslav's rule suggests that the prince made no significant concessions to him. On the contrary, Svyatoslav may have deprived Nifont of some of the tithe. Since one of the accusations the enemies of Vsevolod Mstislavich levied against him was that he neglected the peasants, it may well be that Svyatoslav attempted to remedy that complaint with his statute by lessening the peasants' dues to the Church.⁵³

Although Svyatoslav's strategy to win support in Novgorod bore positive results, it appears that *Posadnik* Konstantin Mikul'chich, his wife's uncle, was a partisan of the enemy camp. At the beginning of 1137, when a group of citizens from Novgorod and Pskov attempted to overthrow Svyatoslav, they failed. On 7 March the *posadnik* accompanied by a number of prominent citizens fled to Vyshgorod. He was replaced by Yakun Miroslavich who belonged to the Ol'govichi camp and held that office for the duration of Svyatoslav's rule.⁵⁴ In Vyshgorod, however, the rebels convinced Vsevolod that the Novgorodians wanted him to come back as prince. Later in the year he went to Pskov accompanied by his younger brother Svyatopolk.

When the Novgorodians learnt of his arrival and of his intention to rule their town they were thrown into confusion. Most of the citizens, we are told, were opposed to his return. Those who supported him fled to Pskov and their homes were plundered. The pro-Svyatoslav faction also ferreted out Vsevolod's supporters from amongst the boyars in Novgorod

⁵² Most historians believe it was to the advantage of the archbishop (V. L. Yanin, "Gramota knyazya Svyatoslava Ol'govicha 1137 g.," *Feodal'naya Rossiya vo vsemirno-istoricheskom protsesse* (M., 1972), pp. 243-51; Shchapov, "Tserkov v sisteme gosudarstvennoy vlasti drevney Rusi," pp. 285-7).

⁵³ Tikhomirov, *Krest'yanskie i gorodskie vosstaniya na Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, p. 195. Cf. Shchapov, "Tserkov v sisteme gosudarstvennoy vlasti drevney Rusi," pp. 287-8.

⁵⁴ NPL, pp. 24, 209; Yanin, *Novgorodskie posadniki*, pp. 94, 96; Zakharenko, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v Novgorode," p. 153.

and seized one thousand five hundred *grivny*. They gave these to the merchants to help defray the cost of the impending war.

After that, Svyatoslav assembled the entire land of Novgorod. Accompanied by his brother Gleb who had come with the militia of Kursk and the Polovtsy, he set off to drive out the two Mstislavichi. The citizens of Pskov stood firm: instead of submitting to the will of the Novgorodians and evicting Vsevolod, they barricaded themselves. Seeing that a prolonged siege might lead to the loss of many lives, Svyatoslav and the Novgorodians philosophically resolved to leave the matter in the hands of God. Their faith was rewarded. Soon after, on 11 February 1138, Vsevolod died and the Pskovites appointed his brother Svyatopolk as prince. Because of this conflict the Novgorodians remained at odds with the citizens of Pskov, Suzdal', Smolensk, Polotsk, and Kiev.⁵⁵

A number of observations can be made concerning Vsevolod's unsuccessful bid to return to Novgorod. Most important for the Ol'govichi was the support the majority of the Novgorodians gave to Svyatoslav. The conflict was in the main between two social strata of townsmen. On the one hand, Vsevolod evidently received backing from the boyars and the established families since the pro-Svyatoslav group sought out Vsevolod's boyar supporters and plundered the courts of those who fled to Pskov. On the other hand, Svyatoslav obtained his backing from the merchants since they were the ones who took the *grivny* appropriated from the boyars; they used the money to subsidize their campaign against Vsevolod in Pskov. Moreover, Svyatoslav was probably supported by the peasants whom Vsevolod was accused of neglecting.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note Gleb's presence in Novgorod. This is the first chronicle reference to him. The information that he came with troops from Kursk implies that he was prince of that town. If, as was likely the case, Kursk was the disputed patrimonial domain which Yaropolk ceded to the Ol'govichi, Gleb became its prince at that time. It is also noteworthy that he was accompanied by the Polovtsy, his neighbours to the south. This was the first occasion on which the tribesmen were asked to accompany the Ol'govichi as far north as Novgorod. While Gleb was helping his

⁵⁵ See s.a. 1137, NPL, pp. 24-5, 209-10; Tver., cols. 199-200; Mosk., p. 33; see also, s.a. 1138, Maz., p. 59 which speaks of Vsevolod's canonization, and Nikon, pp. 160-1, which gives the most extensive list of Vsevolod's sympathizers.

⁵⁶ See also Zakharenko, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya v Novgorode," pp. 153-4.

brother in the north, however, another band of Polovtsy attacked Kursk, set fire to it, and took its inhabitants captive.⁵⁷ The attack illustrates that the Ol'govichi were not on friendly terms with all the neighbouring tribes. It also served as a painful reminder to them that it was imprudent to leave Kursk, which was permanently exposed to nomadic attacks, undefended.

The death of Vsevolod in Pskov also had important consequences. For the Mstislavichi it meant that seniority in the family passed to Izyaslav. This development undoubtedly pleased the prince of Chernigov since he and Izyaslav had worked in close collaboration in the past. Not only had Izyaslav joined Vsevolod on campaigns, but the former was indebted to the prince of Chernigov for helping him obtain Vladimir as his domain. Of more immediate importance was the lessening of tensions in the north. It is true that, with Vsevolod's death, the prince of Kiev lost his candidate for Novgorod. Nevertheless, he must have been relieved to learn he was freed of the obligation to provide his nephew with a domain. This also pleased the Ol'govichi for it meant they now had no serious rival to Svyatoslav in Novgorod. Moreover, there was a good chance he would not be replaced by a new one (i.e., Svyatopolk) since the Mstislavichi were under the new leadership of Izyaslav, who, it was hoped, would be more favourably disposed to the Ol'govichi.

When Izyaslav's brother Vsevolod occupied Pskov in the hope of returning to Novgorod, for example, those towns supporting his claim boycotted Novgorod. These were Pskov where Vsevolod himself was prince; Smolensk, controlled by his brother Rostislav; Suzdal' which belonged to his uncle Yury; Polotsk where his ally Vasil'ko ruled;⁵⁸ and Kiev where his uncle Yaropolk was prince. Significantly, the towns controlled by the remaining members of the House of Monomakh demonstrated no overt support for Vsevolod's claim to Novgorod. These were Pereyaslavl', controlled by his uncle Andrey; Turov where his uncle Vyacheslav ruled; and Vladimir, the town of his brother Izyaslav. If the chronicler's report is accurate, then we see that the family of Monomakh was divided over the issue of Vsevolod's claim to Novgorod, and that Izyaslav refused to oppose the Ol'govichi bid to rule for Novgorod.

⁵⁷ See s.a. 1138, Nikon., p. 161; to judge from the location of the entry in the account, the event probably occurred in winter of 1137-38.

⁵⁸ According to one source, when Vsevolod passed through the lands of Polotsk on his way to Pskov, Vasil'ko of Polotsk came out to meet him and escorted him to Pskov (see s.a. 1137, Tver., col. 199).

Despite these considerations, the Ol'govichi hopes of retaining control of Novgorod were dashed. On 17 April 1138, the inhabitants drove out Svyatoslav, evidently without warning, after he ruled the town for "two years less three months." Then the Novgorodians sent for Yury in Suzdal'. However, on 23 April the townsmen were greatly frightened. A rumour was circulated that Vsevolod's younger brother Svyatopolk and the troops of Pskov were standing outside Novgorod's walls. When all the townsmen went out to confront him, they discovered it was a hoax.

After that they seized Svyatoslav's counsellors and his wife and confined her to the Monastery of St. Barbara in Novgorod. Svyatoslav himself was taken captive by the inhabitants of Smolensk as he fled past their town. They placed him under guard in the monastery built on the site where St. Gleb was allegedly murdered on the hill at Smyadyn'.⁵⁹ He was to be detained until such a time as Yaropolk and Vsevolod of Chernigov reached a settlement. Almost a month after Svyatoslav's expulsion, on 10 May, the Novgorodians welcomed Yury's son Rostislav as prince. After that the inhabitants of Novgorod and Pskov were reconciled.⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the Ol'govichi were not sitting idle in the south. Even before Svyatoslav was expelled, Vsevolod, accompanied by his brothers and the Polovtsy pillaged the districts of the river Sula in the Pereyaslavl' land. On learning that their brother Svyatoslav was being held captive near Smolensk, the Ol'govichi intensified their attacks. They captured Priluk, a town located northeast of Pereyaslavl' on the upper reaches of the river Uday, and then set off against Kiev itself. However, they quickly withdrew to Chernigov on discovering that Yaropolk had amassed a huge force. It constituted contingents from Rostov, Polotsk, Smolensk, Pereyaslavl', Vladimir, Turov, Kiev, as well as Hungarians, Galicians, and 30,000 Berendei, a Turkic people living in the river Ros' area south of Kiev.

When Yaropolk pursued Vsevolod the latter attempted to flee to the Polovtsy, but the citizens of Chernigov confronted him with these words:

⁵⁹ As has been suggested above, Svyatoslav was probably apprehended in the monastery after he sought sanctuary there. It is possible that the Svyatoslavichi had a special association with the institution from the time that Svyatoslav's uncle David ruled Smolensk before the congress of Lyubech.

⁶⁰ See s.a. 1138: NPL, pp. 25, 211; Lav., col. 305; Mosk., p. 34; and s. a. 1139: NPL, pp. 25, 211; Ipat., col. 301.

You wish to flee to the Polovtsy and in that way lose your domain; to what, then, will you return? It is best for you to swallow your pride and sue for peace. We know Yaropolk is merciful and does not enjoy shedding Christian blood. He seeks peace out of love for God, and wishes to preserve the land of Rus'.

In this manner Vsevolod was persuaded to abandon his flight, submit to Yaropolk, and sue for peace. The latter welcomed Vsevolod's capitulation; the two men kissed the Holy Cross and exchanged gifts. After that Yaropolk returned to Kiev and dismissed his troops.⁶¹ Although none of the chronicles report it, we may assume that after the princes concluded peace, Svyatoslav and his wife were set free and allowed to return to Chernigov.

Why did the Novgorodians change their policy towards the Ol'govichi? They undoubtedly suffered considerable hardships owing to the economic sanctions imposed on them by other towns. After Vsevolod died in Pskov all the domains controlled by Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi surrounding Novgorod (viz. Pskov, Polotsk, Smolensk, and Rostov-Suzdal') adopted hostile measures towards Svyatoslav's administration. They undoubtedly boycotted trade and prevented the merchants of Novgorod from passing through their lands. The strongest supporters of the Ol'govichi in Novgorod were the merchants. Since the main sanctions were directed against them, they were eventually forced to sever their ties with the Ol'govichi. The latter, whose political base was in the distant south, had no way of counteracting the boycott by peaceful means. The princes of Rostov-Suzdal', Smolensk, and Polotsk effectively cut off all communication between Chernigov and Novgorod.

The Novgorodians' decision to ask Yury to come as prince is noteworthy. There was precedent for such action. As we have seen, in 1095 the citizens summoned Monomakh's son Mstislav from Rostov-Suzdal'. In 1138 their choice was a calculated compromise. By turning to Yury, they rejected the rival candidates from two different families, the Ol'govichi and the Mstislavichi, and invited a prince who had never ruled Novgorod. Yury was an unknown quantity and he was not identified with the interests of either faction. The selection of a compromise candidate from the House of Monomakh seemingly pacified the pro-Mstislavichi and the

⁶¹ Lav., cols. 305-6; Mosk., p. 34; cf. Nikon, pp. 162-3 which gives Vsevolod's reply to the townsmen. See also s.a. 1139: Ipat., cols. 301-2.

pro-Ol'govichi camps in Novgorod, and reconciled the town with the citizens of Pskov who opposed the princes of Chernigov.

Novgorod's invitation to Yury was a milestone in its history. On the one hand, by summoning the prince of Rostov-Suzdal' the town initiated what turned out to be a long-standing relationship with Yury's family. On the other hand, by selecting one of Monomakh's descendants other than from Mstislav's family meant that the town expanded its list of candidates from the House of Monomakh. In this way, Novgorod gained another degree of independence from the prince of Kiev, and its relationship with princely families entered a more complex phase.

By selecting a candidate from one family in preference to that of another, the Novgorodians were creating a situation wherein princely families would vie with each other for Novgorod's favour. Such rivalries would, inevitably, lead to inter-princely wars. This, at any rate, was the situation that existed in 1138 when the Novgorodians evicted an Ol'govich and invited one of Monomakh's sons. They made control of Novgorod a bone of contention between Yury of Rostov-Suzdal' and Vsevolod of Chernigov. It was the first occasion on which the two princes found themselves at odds over Novgorod.

Their rivalry over Novgorod led to war. In this instance, however, the conflict had national dimensions and other princes were also drawn into the fray. After Svyatoslav fled from Novgorod he was taken captive near Smolensk and incarcerated. This had important consequences. Having him in custody gave Yaropolk bartering power with the Ol'govichi just as Vsevolod must have used Yaropolk's captured *druzhinniki* to advantage, in 1135, in negotiating with Yaropolk. It is also noteworthy that Svyatoslav was captured by troops loyal to Yaropolk's nephew, Rostislav of Smolensk. This shows that the latter, like his brothers Vsevolod of Pskov and Svyatopolk, renounced his pact with the Ol'govichi and was working in alliance with Yaropolk. Indeed, there is evidence to show that by the year 1138 even Lzyaslav, the eldest Mstislavich, had returned to his uncle's fold. In listing the different contingents of Yaropolk's army, the chronicler includes the troops from Lzyaslav's town of Vladimir along with all the others.

The willingness of the Mstislavichi to co-operate with Yaropolk is understandable. After the death of their father Mstislav, Yaropolk assumed the role of their guardian, as it were. He had also promised his brother to give them Pereyaslavl'. Although he was prevented from doing this by his younger brothers, after the latter were pacified Yaropolk and the Mstisla-

vichi re-established their former association. Thus, by 1138 Yaropolk controlled a united family; the rapprochement between the Mstislavichi and their uncles meant that, as a political unit, the family once again asserted its supremacy in Rus'.

The most puzzling question in relation to the conflicts which occurred in 1138 concerns the behaviour of the Ol'govichi: why did they summon the Polovtsy to help them pillage the districts along the Sula even before Svyatoslav was captured near Smolensk? On 12 January 1136 when Yaropolk returned the disputed patrimonial lands to the Ol'govichi, Vsevolod and Yaropolk concluded peace. After that, no conflicts are reported between the two sides until the early part of 1138 when the Ol'govichi made a foray into Pereyaslavl'. Since their objective was not to capture the domain one possible explanation for their raid is that Vsevolod wanted to retaliate against the House of Monomakh for the sanctions its members were imposing on Novgorod.

Svyatoslav's capture near Smolensk, it appears, served as the signal for all-out war. The Ol'govichi looked upon it as a direct attack against them and marched on Kiev. Yaropolk responded by rallying all the princes of Rus' to his side. The size of the army frightened Vsevolod into aborting his attack and, ultimately, into capitulating. By the end of 1138, therefore, the prince of Chernigov concluded yet another peace treaty with Yaropolk. As a result, Novgorod remained in the hands of Monomakh's family and the Mstislavichi confirmed their loyalty to Yaropolk. Significantly, Vsevolod's political losses were much greater than his military ones. Indeed, because he followed the advice of the citizens of Chernigov, his capitulation to Yaropolk enabled him to preserve intact the military power of his domain.

In 1138 another important event occurred for the Ol'govichi. After reporting the conflicts between the princes of Chernigov and Yaropolk, one source briefly notes that Vsevolod's brother Gleb died in the autumn.⁶² We are not told whether he died from natural causes or, as was likely the case, in battle against the Polovtsy.

Gleb's death had significant consequences for his family. It meant that the ranks of the Ol'govichi were decreased to three brothers: Vsevolod, Igor', and Svyatoslav. With his death the Ol'govichi also lost the services of his *druzhina*. The information that Vsevolod dispatched Gleb to

⁶² Lav., col. 306.

help Svyatoslav in Novgorod testifies to the value he placed on its services. Moreover, since Gleb died as prince of Kursk, his loss deprived one of the Ol'govichi towns of its prince. We are not told if Vsevolod gave the capital of the Posem'e to another Ol'govich. However, later evidence suggests that Svyatoslav who was driven out of Novgorod occupied Kursk.⁶³ Svyatoslav's promotion to Kursk is not surprising since Gleb's death effected only his order of precedence. Although he remained the youngest member of the family, he moved up one rung on the order of succession immediately behind Igor'.

Gleb's death was followed by one of much greater importance. Yaropolk died on 18 February 1139 and was buried in the Church of St. Andrew in Kiev. Four days later, on 22 February, the Kievans and the metropolitan went out to meet his brother Vyacheslav who came from Turov and "placed him on the throne of his father Vladimir."⁶⁴

The information that Vyacheslav's accession went unchallenged by the Kievans testifies to Monomakh's skill at laying the groundwork for his family's takeover of Kiev. It is also further proof that the Kievans and the Monomashichi saw Kiev as the patrimonial domain of Monomakh's descendants. Vyacheslav was the third brother to occupy it according to the order of lateral succession on the invitation of the citizens. According to this arrangement, all of Monomakh's sons would take their turn at ruling Kiev. If they outlived their elder brothers, Yury and then Andrey would succeed Vyacheslav. To judge from the evidence that the Mstislavichi refused to challenge Vyacheslav's succession, even they accepted their uncles' prior claim to Kiev. The Ol'govichi, of course, played no part in Monomakh's scheme of succession.

Nevertheless, we must remember that the death of the prince of Kiev frequently heralded a period of political instability. After occupying the capital with the backing of the townspeople, his successor still had to establish his authority over all of Rus'. He usually did this by securing the allegiance of the other princes, and by concluding peace with the Polovtsy. Unless he dealt with these two hurdles successfully, either through negotiation or by force, his future as prince of Kiev lay in the balance.

⁶³ Zaytsev, "Chernigovskoe knyazhestvo," p. 94.

⁶⁴ See s.a. 1138: Lav., col. 306; s.a. 1139: Ipat., col. 302; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 52.

There was an added consideration in Vyacheslav's case. In the past he had objected to leaving Turov and ruling the patrimonial capital of Pereyaslavl'. When forced to accept the post by his eldest brother Yaropolk, his rule in Pereyaslavl' had been capricious and irresponsible. Therefore, we may well ask if he occupied Kiev because he wanted to rule it or because his younger brothers Yury and Andrey insisted that he follow the order of lateral succession? Since they had earlier demanded he occupy Pereyaslavl' for the Monomashichi, there can be little doubt that they were even more adamant about Kiev. As a result, the question remained: would Vyacheslav balk at ruling the capital of Rus' just as he had refused to sit on the throne of his father in Pereyaslavl'?

E. VSEVOLOD USURPS KIEV

On 22 February 1139⁶⁵ Vyacheslav of Turov became prince of Kiev. Soon after, Vsevolod of Chernigov set off to challenge him. He assembled only a small *druzhina*, summoned his brother Svyatoslav and his cousin Vladimir, who had become senior prince of the Davidovichi after the death of his elder brother Vsevolod, and rode to Vyshgorod. There the town militia joined him. On 4 March his troops marched against Kiev and, on arriving at its western outskirts in the suburb known as Kopyrev *konets*,⁶⁶ set fire to the boyars' courts. Vyacheslav made no attempt to resist him. Instead he sent the metropolitan with the following declaration:

Brother, I have come here [i.e., to Kiev] after my brothers Mstislav and Yaropolk according to the testament of our fathers. But if you covet this throne and wish to abandon your patrimony, then, brother, I am younger than you so let it be yours. Withdraw to Vyshgorod for the time being and I shall return to my former domain, and Kiev shall be yours.⁶⁷

Vsevolod complied with the request and, while he waited in Vyshgorod, Vyacheslav departed for Turov. The following day, on 5 March, Oleg's

⁶⁵ Lav., col. 306; Berezhtkov, *Khronologiya*, p. 138.

⁶⁶ Concerning Kopyrev *konets* see P. P. Tolochko, "O sotsial'no-topograficheskoy strukture drevnego Kieva i drugikh drevnerusskikh gorodov," *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Kieva 1978-1983 gg.* (K., 1985), pp. 6-7.

⁶⁷ Mosk., p. 34; s.a. 1140, Ipat., cols. 302-3.

eldest son occupied Kiev and Metropolitan Mikhail installed him as prince.

Then Igor', who was not reported as accompanying Vsevolod to Kiev, came to him because, explains the chronicler, "long ago" Vsevolod promised to give him Chernigov. However, Vsevolod refused to do so and gave it to his cousin Vladimir.⁶⁸ Vsevolod celebrated his seizure of power with a great feast.

On that day, Grand Prince Vsevolod Ol'govich along with his father Metropolitan Mikhail, his brothers, the princes, his boyars, and all the people held a lavish feast. He ordered large quantities of wine, honey, and beer to be brought to the streets along with all types of food and fruits. He also made generous donations to churches and monasteries.⁶⁹

Given the recent history of conflict between the princes of Chernigov and Monomakh's family, Vsevolod's attack on Vyacheslav is not surprising. Significantly, no chronicler condemned Vsevolod for his action. This is understandable. In the past, Vyacheslav failed to demonstrate the leadership qualities the Kievans looked for in their prince. Unlike his younger brother Yury, he failed to fight for his family's interests. He revealed a singular lack of ambition by objecting to being "promoted" to his family's patrimony. His behaviour as prince of Pereyaslavl' had been erratic unlike that of a strong leader. When he made no effort to drive away Vsevolod from the Kopyrev *konets*, the Kievans were easily persuaded to desert him and throw in their lot with the more aggressive Ol'govich.

Vsevolod had all the credentials the Kievans were looking for in a prince. After Yaropolk's death he became one of the most powerful rulers in the land. His attributes as a political leader outshone those of any other prince. His military talents resembled those of his father Oleg: in 1127 he demonstrated these qualities by seizing Chernigov from his uncle Yaroslav, and in 1135 by defeating Yaropolk's superior forces.

⁶⁸ See s.a. 1138: Lav., cols. 306-7; Mosk., p. 34; s.a. 1139, Ipat., cols. 302; s.a. 1140, Ipat., cols. 302-3. For the occasion of his accession to Chernigov Vladimir evidently commissioned a special ceremonial silver cup with his name inscribed on it (A. A. Medyntseva, "Chara Vladimira Davydovicha," *Problemy arkheologii Yuzhnoy Rusi*, gen. ed., P. P. Tolochko [K., 1990], p. 133).

⁶⁹ This information is given only in Nikon., p. 163, a chronicle of late provenance.

His political ambitions, however, bore a greater resemblance to those of his grandfather Svyatoslav who demonstrated expansionist tendencies. During Izyaslav's rule Svyatoslav had successfully exerted his control over Novgorod. Later, he convinced his younger brother of Izyaslav's alleged treachery and occupied Kiev. Vsevolod's actions reveal that he also had a special talent for persuading people to adopt his point of view. The best example was his success in winning the support of his father-in-law Mstislav for his seizure of Chernigov.

The only description of Vsevolod comes from a much later period, but there is reason to believe that it may contain elements of truth. We are told he

was wise both in council meetings and when sitting in judgment; he could readily present a case [i.e., argue successfully] either in defense of a man's innocence or his guilt.⁷⁰

Vsevolod's talent for playing off one party against another enabled him to maintain a delicate balance of power in Rus' while he ruled Kiev.

His grandfather Svyatoslav deposed Izyaslav because, among other reasons, he believed his illness might prevent him from occupying the town according to the natural order of succession. Vsevolod also had a pressing reason for seizing power. The Svyatoslavichi were debarred from Kiev. This meant he had no claim and would never have an opportunity to occupy the capital according to the system of lateral succession. If he was to rule the town his only recourse was to use force. He had already lost one opportunity to seize power when Yaropolk became prince of Kiev. When Vyacheslav succeeded him, however, the prince of Chernigov decided to act.

After Svyatoslav drove out Izyaslav from Kiev the chronicler accused him of being greedy for more power (*vlast'*). In this respect, Vsevolod also resembled his grandfather. He first expressed his expansionist ambitions in 1127 when he expelled his uncle from Chernigov. Eleven years later, as he was preparing to flee to the Polovtsy before Yaropolk's superior forces, his own subjects in Chernigov remonstrated with him for his "love of power" (*vlastolyubie*). There can be little doubt that in 1139 this "love of power" propelled him to attain the highest objective in his career: political seniority in the land of Rus'.

⁷⁰ Tat., 4, p. 201; 2, p. 162.

Nevertheless, there was another less selfish consideration which spurred him on to Kiev. In the past Vyacheslav had been forced to act against his own wishes because of the pressure that was brought to bear on him by his younger brothers, especially Yury. If Vyacheslav proved to be an ineffectual ruler in Kiev, as was likely to be the case, the Kievans would seek to replace him. The obvious man, according to genealogical seniority and leadership qualities, was Yury. Such a development would be unacceptable to Vsevolod. Rule of Kiev would make Yury the most powerful prince in Rus'; he already held Rostov-Suzdal' and his son was prince of Novgorod. Besides, control of Kiev would give Yury military access to the lands of Chernigov on two fronts. Vsevolod had to prevent this from happening at all costs. An obvious means of doing so was to seize Kiev.

One reason why Vsevolod succeeded against Vyacheslav was the support he received from his brothers and the Davidovichi. Although Vsevolod left Chernigov with only a small *druzhina*, he had all the resources of the Chernigov lands at his disposal. It is true that Vyacheslav, as the senior prince of the House of Monomakh, could also call upon his brothers and the Mstislavichi for help. Vsevolod certainly gave him sufficient opportunity to do so since his military preparation must have been known to Vyacheslav. He marshalled his troops around Vyshgorod for some ten days before his attack. And yet, there is no evidence that Vyacheslav made any effort to summon aid. His lack of initiative is revealing. It suggests that he may have been only too happy to hand over control of Kiev in order to return to his Turov.

The composition of Vsevolod's attacking force is of interest. Two princes are singled out as accompanying him from Chernigov: his brother Svyatoslav and Vladimir, the eldest Davidovich. The absence of Vsevolod's brother Igor' is unexplained. Undoubtedly, it merely meant that Igor' was not with Vsevolod when he departed from Chernigov. If his lands were between Chernigov and Vyshgorod, as later evidence suggests, Igor' probably joined the attacking force at Vyshgorod. This is also supported by the information that Vsevolod marched on Kiev from Vyshgorod where he had joined forces with his brothers⁷¹ It is confirmed by the evidence that, immediately following Vsevolod's installation ceremony, Igor' asked his

⁷¹ Lav., col. 306-7.

brother to give him control of Chernigov. He could justify such a demand only if he had been at Vsevolod's side during the attack on Kiev. This is the first occasion on which the sources refer to Igor' by name.⁷²

Did Vsevolod make the promise to Igor' before deposing Yaroslav in 1127 in order to secure Igor's support? If he did, Vsevolod probably designated Igor' to replace him after his death. It is unlikely that Vsevolod seriously considered seizing Kiev at that time and promised to give Igor' Chernigov in the event he succeeded. Whatever the agreement, in Igor's view the time for Vsevolod to fulfil his promise came in 1139 when he occupied Kiev.

Vladimir, the eldest Davidovich, was the second prince who accompanied Vsevolod from Chernigov.⁷³ Vsevolod's third ally was the town of Vyshgorod. This news is unexpected. The town, the most powerful outpost of Kiev, fell under the jurisdiction of its prince and yet the townsmen chose to support Vsevolod rather than the new prince of Kiev. Was their loyalty to Vsevolod directed towards him as an individual or the princes of Chernigov as a family? The reason for their support is not given.

In the past, princes such as Svyatoslav, Oleg, and David played an important role in making Vyshgorod the premier pilgrimage centre of Rus'. As rulers of Chernigov they had no political authority in Vyshgorod; their influence over its inhabitants was evidently moral in nature. Since Vsevolod obtained support from the inhabitants of Vyshgorod we may assume that he continued to patronize the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb.⁷⁴ By helping him to occupy Kiev the townsmen could solicit even greater patronage of the shrine and, concomitantly, renown for the town.

Vyacheslav offered no opposition to Vsevolod. We are told that he capitulated for altruistic reasons: Vyacheslav refused to shed blood. It is

⁷² The chronicles tell us almost nothing about Igor's early life. His baptismal name is not given in the Lyubech *sinodik*, but historians believe it may have been George. There is no record of his marriage (Zotov, p. 263; Ekzemplyarsky, "Chernigovskie knyaz'ya," p. 242). Undoubtedly, he participated on most campaigns on which the Ol'govichi are reported as being present.

⁷³ We have seen that in 1124 the eldest Davidovich had been Vsevolod, prince of Murom. Since he died between the years 1124 and 1139 only two Davidovichs, Vladimir and Izyaslav, remained politically active in 1139.

⁷⁴ This observation is confirmed by later information which states that Vsevolod went to Vyshgorod to die and was buried in the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb (see s.a. 1146, lpat., cols. 320-1). He also had a court on an island below Vyshgorod (see below p. 409).

impossible to accept this explanation at face value. The desire to protect Christians was a noble ideal but one too often used by chroniclers to justify a prince's humiliation or cowardly conduct.⁷⁵

The Monomashich defended his presence in Kiev by explaining to Vsevolod that he merely replaced his two brothers, Mstislav and Yaropolk, according to "the will of their fathers." This is an enigmatic statement; the reference to "their fathers" can only signify Monomakh and Oleg. And yet, a special pact between the two cousins is recorded nowhere in the sources. It is unlikely that such a deal, which excluded the Svyatopolchichi from succession, was made at Lyubech. As Svyatopolk was prince of Kiev at that time he would have risen up in arms against such a proposal. The agreement was reached after the death of Svyatopolk in 1113, and before 1115 when the Church of SS. Boris and Gleb was consecrated in Vyshgorod. It was after Oleg renounced his claim to Kiev that Monomakh allowed him to translate the relics into the new church.⁷⁶ In Vyacheslav's view, therefore, he was merely following the order of lateral succession formulated by Monomakh and Oleg.

His most important reason for abdicating was practical: the Kievans evidently refused to support him. There was also a personal consideration which persuaded him to relinquish control of Kiev. As has already been noted, when Vyacheslav's elder brother Yaropolk forced him to rule Pereyaslavl' he deserted it for Turov which he preferred. Evidently, he still held that opinion in 1139 after control of Kiev was thrust upon him according to the system of lateral succession. We may assume that Vyacheslav was not disappointed when Vsevolod challenged his accession to Kiev; on the contrary, he happily returned to Turov.

Sixty three years after his grandfather Svyatoslav died as prince of Kiev (1076), Vsevolod was the first Svyatoslavich to occupy that throne. The event was also memorable because, for the first time, an Ol'govich became the most powerful prince in Rus'. Vsevolod personally controlled Kiev and the private domain he inherited from his father Oleg in the

⁷⁵ In his "Instruction" Monomakh explained that, in 1094, he capitulated to Oleg out of pity for his Christian subjects; Mstislav used the same excuse in 1127 to avoid going to war with Vsevolod; in 1136 Yaropolk also used it when he refused to wage war on Vsevolod.

⁷⁶ See above, p. 277.

Novgorod Severskiy lands.⁷⁷ In addition, as the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi, he had at his disposal the resources of his brothers Igor' and Svyatoslav, as well as those of his cousins, Vladimir and Izyaslav. Indeed, it was in order to secure the support of the Davidovichi that Vsevolod made his first disputed territorial allocation.

He gave Chernigov to his cousin Vladimir rather than to his brother Igor'. Vsevolod's strategy, on the one hand, was sound; it ingratiated him with the Davidovichi. On the other hand, it was divisive; it antagonized his brother Igor'. The chronicler offers no explanation why Vsevolod allowed the patrimonial capital to leave Ol'govichi hands. He also fails to report what towns Vsevolod gave his brothers Igor' and Svyatoslav.

After receiving oaths of allegiance from his relatives, Vsevolod had to obtain similar pledges from the princes of the other families. To judge from later evidence, Vasil'ko's son Ivan and Volodar's son Volodimerko who ruled the territories in the southwest (i.e., Galicia), complied. He also sent messengers to Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi "wishing to conclude peace with them." They, however, refused to submit to his authority and planned to march against him.⁷⁸

Accordingly, the House of Monomakh forced Vsevolod to adopt a hostile policy. This information is seemingly contradicted in accounts which reflect an anti-Vsevolod bias. They would have us believe that he was the instigator. We are told that, to the dismay of the Kievans and the metropolitan, Vsevolod "wished to rule the entire land with his brothers." He therefore commanded Izyaslav to vacate Vladimir, Rostislav to leave Smolensk, and Andrey to depart from Pereyaslavl'.⁷⁹

Vsevolod's plan to seize all the lands of Rus', if this was really his intention, was grandiose. In addition to the towns of Vladimir, Smolensk, and Pereyaslavl' which the chronicler claims he intended to appropriate, he later attacked Turov as well. These four, plus his own patrimonial capital of Chernigov, constituted the five domains Yaroslav "the Wise" gave his surviving sons as patrimonies. Did Vsevolod hope to turn the clock back to the days of Yaroslav who controlled all the domains of Rus' except Polotsk?

⁷⁷ Vsevolod's private domain has not been identified by the sources. We shall see that the Vyatichi lands formed a large portion of his Chernigov patrimony.

⁷⁸ Ipat., col. 304; Gust., p. 296.

⁷⁹ See s.a. 1139: Lav., col. 307; Mosk., pp. 34-5; Sof. I, p. 163; Novg. 4, p. 150; see s.a. 1140, Ipat., cols. 304-5.

Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi could not ignore Vsevolod's demands as empty threats. He had the military might to enforce them. Vsevolod had the resources of Kiev and Chernigov at his disposal; he enjoyed the loyalty of the princes of Galicia and soon after occupying Kiev, he evidently gained the support of the princes of Polotsk.⁸⁰ If necessary, Vsevolod could also obtain reinforcements from the Polovtsy and the Poles.

Did Vsevolod really intend to seize all these domains, or did he have an ulterior motive for making these claims? That is, did he merely wish to intimidate Monomakh's descendants into submitting to his authority? Was it a ploy to appease his brothers? That is, did he wish to impress upon them that he was making serious efforts to obtain lucrative domains for them?⁸¹

The possibility that Vsevolod seriously intended to seize the towns in question is supported by the accusation that his own subjects levied against him when they berated him for his "love of power" (*vlastolyubie*). It seemingly receives confirmation from Vsevolod's own conduct as well. Although any single Monomashich or Mstislavich would find it extremely difficult to successfully challenge Vsevolod, all the members of Monomakh's family, if united, could pose a serious threat to his authority. They ruled Pereyaslavl', Turov, Rostov-Suzdal', Novgorod, Vladimir, and Smolensk. However, the family, as a political entity, had two important weaknesses: as we shall see, Monomakh's sons and the Mstislavichi were not united in policy; a number of their domains were separated by great distances and Vsevolod could prevent them from joining forces by attacking different ones at the same time. These appear to have been his considerations, at least in part, when he declared war.

He attacked on two fronts before the uncles and nephews could organize a campaign against him. On the one hand, he dispatched his cousin Izyaslav Davidovich (who is mentioned for the first time) with the

⁸⁰ Under 1140 we are told that two of the princes of the Polotsk land whom Mstislav sent into exile returned from Byzantium (Ipat., col. 303; Berezhevskiy, *Khronologiya*, p. 139). Evidently, they returned because Vsevolod lifted the ban imposed on them by Mstislav. Their loyalty to Vsevolod was confirmed at a later date when he married his son to the daughter of Vasil'ko of Polotsk (see below, p. 384).

⁸¹ Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 156.

Polovtsy, Ivan Vasil'kovich and Volodimerko Volodarevich of Galicia against Vyacheslav of Turov and Izyaslav Mstislavich of Vladimir. His primary objective, it appears, was to seize the domains of the senior Monomashich and the senior Mstislavich. The expedition probably set off in the early summer. However, when the princes came to a place called Gorinki the troops were mysteriously overcome with great fear⁸² and fled in panic. Thus, Vsevolod's first offensive ended in failure.⁸³

On the other hand, Vsevolod summoned his youngest brother Svyatoslav from Kursk and marched against Pereyaslavl'. His brother Igor' and his cousin Vladimir were not involved in either campaign. Vsevolod decreed that Svyatoslav would occupy Pereyaslavl' and Andrey must move to Kursk in Svyatoslav's stead. The Monomashich refused to budge. He argued that Pereyaslavl' had been the domain of his grandfather and of his father, but "my father [Monomakh] never ruled [i.e., in person] in Kursk." Then Andrey admonished Vsevolod in the following manner:

Brother, if you are not content with ruling the entire land of Rus' [as prince of Kiev] but covet this domain [Pereyaslavl'] as well you can have it after you kill me, for I shall not leave my domain alive. Indeed, is not our dynasty amazing; this very thing has already happened in the past; did not Svyatopolk murder Boris and Gleb because of domains and yet, how long did he outlive them?⁸⁴

It is interesting to note that Andrey reminded Vsevolod of the fate of the two *strastoterptsy*. The reprimand had a special poignancy for Vsevolod because, as has been noted, he patronized their shrine in Vyshgorod. His contemporaries, Andrey at any rate, expected him to model his conduct on that of the martyrs. Instead, he appeared to be following in the footsteps of their murderer.

Vsevolod remained unswayed by his enemy's oration and ordered Svyatoslav to attack. God helped Andrey, we are told, and Svyatoslav's

⁸² Nikon, p. 164. Cf. Hrushevsky who suggests that the princes turned back because they did not wish to conquer Vladimir for Vsevolod since they wanted to seize it for themselves (*Ocherk*, p. 156). See also Golovko, *Drevnyaya Rus' i Pol'sha*, p. 74.

⁸³ Ipat., col. 304. Most of the sources which report the campaign say it was directed only against Izyaslav (e.g., Lav., col. 307; Mosk., p. 35).

⁸⁴ See s.a. 1139, Lav., col. 307; s.a. 1140, Ipat., col. 305.

troops were routed. The following morning the princes concluded peace and Andrey kissed the Holy Cross to Vsevolod. For reasons that remain unexplained the latter procrastinated. That night, on 1 September 1139, Pereyaslavl' went up in flames, but, we are told, this was not Vsevolod's doing. Despite the excellent opportunity the conflagration gave him to attack the unfortunate inhabitants, he was overcome with the fear of God and stayed his troops. Vsevolod then addressed Andrey in the following manner.

You see how I had not yet kissed the Holy Cross and God placed you at my mercy when you yourselves set fire to the town. Had I wished to inflict injury on you I could have done so at my pleasure. So remember, you have kissed the Holy Cross to me; if you abide by it all will be well, but, if you fail to do so, God will be our judge. Then Vsevolod kissed the Holy Cross and, having concluded peace, returned to Kiev.⁸⁵

Vsevolod's refusal to take advantage of the townsmen's plight bespeaks a man more desirous of securing a reconciliation than of pillaging his foe's domain.⁸⁶ His humanitarian gesture demonstrates he was not as merciless as some sources would have us believe. Indeed, the chronicler's observation that Vsevolod refused to attack for fear of God is merely another way of noting that he wished to avoid shedding Christian blood needlessly. After the fire Andrey had little choice but to capitulate. With his submission Vsevolod achieved an important objective. He neutralized the patrimonial domain of the House of Monomakh which, from geographical considerations, could pose a serious threat to his authority because it was adjacent to the Kievan land itself.

While Vsevolod and Svyatoslav were attacking Pereyaslavl', the princes of Galicia once again marched against Izyaslav in Vladimir. On this occasion, Ivan and Volodimerko summoned Izyaslav to conclude an agreement. He found their terms unacceptable and no settlement was reached. After he left them Izyaslav and his sons invaded the lands of his uncle Vyacheslav. This information is surprising. As we have seen, at first Vsevolod had intended to confiscate Turov from Vyacheslav. Perhaps the

⁸⁵ Ipat., s.a. 1140, col., 306.

⁸⁶ Hrushevsky, *Ocherk*, p. 156.

Oleg was spared a similar fate at the hands of the Khazars, perhaps through the intervention of Ratibor, Vsevolod's man in Tmutarakan'. However, we lack specific information concerning the developments after Roman's death. Even so, it may be useful to ask a number of relevant questions. For example, did Oleg attempt to assume control of Tmutarakan' after it lost its prince? Was this one of the reasons why the Khazars rebelled against him? Was another reason the news that their allies the Polovtsy had formed a pact with Vsevolod against the Svyatoslavichi? Consequently, just as the Polovtsy killed Roman, the Khazars opposed Oleg's rule in Tmutarakan' and, according to the prince, plotted his death.

Given Vsevolod's complicity in Oleg's exile, Ratibor probably arrived in Tmutarakan' before he, Oleg, was deported. Therefore, Ratibor seized control of the town with the Khazars' help. As has been noted, Oleg accused the Khazars of intending to kill him; they apparently considered it to be of no advantage to them to send him into exile. And yet, the Khazars ultimately agreed to this arrangement. They were therefore dissuaded from their original intent by someone who refused to resort to murder, someone who commanded enough authority to reverse their decision, someone who had sufficient influence with the Greeks to arrange Oleg's deportation to Byzantium. Vsevolod qualified on all counts, and his new *posadnik* Ratibor was in a position to act on his behalf. He persuaded the Khazars to let Oleg live and ship him off to Constantinople.⁴⁷

In any event, Oleg's deportation in 1079 marked the second coup for Vsevolod. He rid himself of his most bellicose nephew who was both the senior prince of the Svyatoslavichi and the legitimate heir to Chernigov. Oleg's position was now like that of his uncle Izyaslav after he was expelled from Kiev by Svyatoslav and fled to the Poles in search of aid.

Vsevolod's third victory was the acquisition of Tmutarakan'. After that, the only domain that remained in the hands of the Svyatoslavichi

⁴⁷ The possibility that Ratibor was implicated is strengthened by sphragistic evidence. Seven seals which he issued at different periods of his career have been found, a number of them in the very places associated with Oleg's exile, that is, Kiev and Constantinople (Yanin, *Aktovye pechati*, pp. 60-4; Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, pp. 84-5). It cannot be proven that the seals found in the two centres were attached to documents he sent from Tmutarakan', nor that they were associated with Oleg's exile. Nevertheless, the evidence that Ratibor corresponded with Kiev and Constantinople confirms he maintained contacts with the two capitals directly involved with Oleg's exile.

was Murom. David, evidently the only Svyatoslavich (aside from Yaroslav who was in Saxony) who escaped death or exile, was allowed to keep his domain, but we cannot be certain. Vsevolod found no threat in allowing the most distant and the poorest portion of Svyatoslav's patrimony to remain in the hands of his least effective son; indeed, David has yet to be mentioned by the chronicler. With his last triumph, Vsevolod reduced the Svyatoslavichi to political insignificance. The only way they might stage a comeback was if Oleg received support from the Greeks just as Izyaslav had obtained help from the Poles.

Only three facts are known concerning Oleg's exile. We shall see that he returned to Tmutarakan' in 1083; therefore he was in exile four years. A certain Abbot Daniil who probably came from a monastery in Chernigov⁴⁸ wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in which he makes a passing reference to Oleg stating that he spent "two summers and two winters" on the island of Rhodes.⁴⁹ The third item of information is that Oleg was allowed to marry a Greek noblewoman, a certain Feofania (Theophania) Muzalon.⁵⁰

There is no written evidence as to where Oleg was married. However, historians generally believe the ceremony took place in Greece,⁵¹ probably, on the eve of Oleg's departure from Byzantium. To judge from customary Greek diplomatic practice, the marriage contract undoubtedly formed part of the arrangement under which the prince of Rus' was al-

⁴⁸ *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila po soyatoy zemle v nachale XII-go veka (1113-1115)*, ed. A. S. Norov (Spb., 1864), pp. iii, 113 and the passage where he describes how he was joined by pilgrims from Novgorod and Kiev, indicating he was neither (p. 143). See also V. V. Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya' igumena Daniila," TODRL, vol. 10 (1954), pp. 98-9, 101.

⁴⁹ *Puteshestvie igumena Daniila*, p. 7; *Igumen Daniil Khozhenie*, pp. 8-9; Danilov, "K kharakteristike 'Khozhdeniya'," pp. 92-105; O. V. Tvorogov, "Daniil," *Slovar'*, I, pp. 109-12.

⁵⁰ Khr. Loparev was the first to identify Feofania as Oleg's wife ("Vizantiyskaya pechat' s imenem russkoy knyagini," *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, vol. 1 [Spb., 1894], pp. 159-66. See also Zotov, p. 24; Baum., IV, 4; *Povest' vremennykh let*, chast' vtoraya, pp. 412-3.

⁵¹ See, for example, Oreshnikov, *Denezhnye znaki domongol'skoy Rusi*, p. 82; Likhachev, *Materialy*, p. 140; Yanin, "Pechati Feofano Muzalon," p. 81; Litavrin, et al. "Otnosheniya Drevney Rusi i Vizantii," p. 77; Cf. Priselkov who suggested that Oleg married a Rhodian noblewoman ("Russko-Vizantiyskie otnosheniya X-XII vv.," p. 105).

lowed to return to Tmutarakan'.⁵² It has been suggested that Feofania's family had an important function in the Orthodox Church,⁵³ and that it was associated (at least in the thirteenth century) with the town of Adramyttium (modern Edremit) on the west coast of Asia Minor.⁵⁴

We may make two additional observations concerning Oleg's sojourn in Greece. Like Izyaslav who persistently sought help from foreign rulers while he was in exile, Oleg obtained aid from the Greeks for his return to Tmutarakan'. Moreover, Oleg may have volunteered his military services to his custodians to curry favour with them since the Greeks, as far as it is possible to ascertain, had no animosity towards him. Whatever the terms of his stay in Greece, Oleg successfully ingratiated himself with his keepers. The imperial court gave him the hand of an aristocratic woman in marriage and after four years helped him return to Tmutarakan'.⁵⁵

During Oleg's absence from Rus' two debarred princes seized control of Tmutarakan'. On 18 May 1081, according to the PVL, David Igorevich fled with Volodar' Rostislavich; they came to Tmutarakan', defeated Rati-bor and occupied the town.⁵⁶ We know neither from where they fled nor why. However, it appears that, after Vsevolod successfully removed the Svyatoslavichi from their towns of Chernigov and Tmutarakan', he turned

⁵² Loparev, 'Vizantiyskaya pechat', p. 163.

⁵³ One of its members became Patriarch Nicolas IV in the twelfth century (V. Grumel, *Les registes de 1043 à 1206* [Le patriarcat byzantin, 1st Ser., 1.3; Paris, 1947], pp. 98-103). However, in the thirteenth century George Muzalon evidently became regent for the Nicaean Empire (A. V. Soloviev, 'Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire à l'Époque des Comnènes?', *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, eds. F. Dolger and H.-G. Beck [München, 1960], p. 580).

⁵⁴ A. P. Kazhdan, *Sotsial'nyy sostav gosподstvyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (M., 1974), pp. 150-1, 203; Dimnik, 'Oleg Svyatoslavich,' pp. 353-4.

⁵⁵ In 1081 Alexius I Comnenus deposed the emperor who concluded the agreement with Vsevolod concerning Oleg. It has therefore been suggested that the two years Oleg spend on Rhodes were probably 1079-81. His marriage and return to Tmutarakan' was arranged by Alexius who placed greater importance on marriage alliances to establish imperial control over territories surrounding the Black Sea (G. G. Litavrin, 'Rus' i Vizantiya v XII veke,' *Voprosy istorii*, 7 [M., 1972], p. 40; Soloviev, 'Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire,' p. 576). It has also been noted that Oleg's mother Killikiya was probably a Greek. Therefore, Oleg undoubtedly turned to his Greek relatives for diplomatic and military assistance.

⁵⁶ *Ipat.*, col. 196; *Lav.*, col. 204.

his attention to the two debarred families (i.e., the descendants of Vladimir of Novgorod and Igor' of Vladimir) forcing them to form a pact against him. They fled from their domains and, following the examples of Rostislav, Boris, and Oleg, sought sanctuary in Tmutarakan'.⁵⁷

Vsevolod made no effort to evict them. This comes as no surprise. The distant domain was especially difficult to control because it was not contiguous with the lands of Rus'. A punitive force from Kiev would first have to cross the steppes controlled by the warring Polovtsy. Moreover, Vsevolod's initial interest in seizing Tmutarakan' had been primarily to drive out the Svyatoslavichi because it had served as their base of resistance against him. As long as it remained out of their hands it mattered little to him whether it was ruled by the two fugitives or his *posadnik*. Indeed, Vsevolod may have looked upon their seizure of the town as a welcome expedient. It kept the two malcontents out of the unspecified region from which they fled which, evidently, Vsevolod was more desirous of controlling than Tmutarakan'. As for Oleg's brother David, he continued to demonstrate a complete lack of initiative in defending his family's domains. There is no evidence that he attempted to reclaim Tmutarakan' from his cousins David and Volodar'.

D. OLEG IN TMUTARAKAN'

In 1083 Oleg attacked Tmutarakan'. He captured David the son of Igor' and Volodar' the son of Rostislav and occupied the town. Then he slaughtered the Khazars who had advocated his brother's death and his own, but David and Volodar' he set free.⁵⁸ It is generally agreed that the Greeks subsidized Oleg's return, but two unresolved questions remain: what were the conditions that the imperial court attached to its support, and in what way, if any, was Vsevolod involved with Oleg's return?

Let us begin our examination of these questions with a general observation. When Oleg was sent into exile he lost the military backing of

⁵⁷ Interestingly enough, Volodar' had an additional reason for seizing Tmutarakan'; he could argue that he had the right to sit on the throne of his father who died there as prince.

⁵⁸ Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205.

his *druzhina*. Therefore, when he launched his attack from Greece he had no force of his own to recapture Tmutarakan'. On his arrival on the Taman' peninsula a number of his retinue would have rallied to his cause, but their help was undoubtedly insufficient to recapture the town. Moreover, no support was forthcoming from his younger brother David. As a result, he must have been given military aid by the Greeks with the authorization of Emperor Alexius I Comnenus.⁵⁹

Since the Greeks allowed Oleg, a political exile, to marry a Greek noblewoman whose family evidently enjoyed considerable influence at the imperial court, permission was granted at the highest level. As has been suggested, the emperor probably used the marriage to cement a political alliance with Oleg. The terms of the agreement are unknown but one thing can be taken for granted. In exchange for ensuring him control of Tmutarakan' Oleg promised to remain an ally of Alexius I.⁶⁰ The emperor's main expectation of the prince was that he protect Greek interests in the Taman' peninsula. In return, the emperor, or what is more likely, the Muzalon family, financed the troops necessary to repatriate him.

Vsevolod evidently demonstrated no outward sign of disapproval to this agreement. Even if he wished to do so, it was dangerous for Vsevolod to march across the hostile steppes to evict Oleg from Tmutarakan'. Besides, in 1083 it was no longer under his control so Oleg's seizure of the town deprived him of no territory. In any event, to judge from his treatment of David and Volodar', Vsevolod was too busy asserting his authority over the princelings in Rus' to become involved in affairs on the Black Sea coast.

Finally, it is unlikely that Vsevolod wanted to jeopardize his relations with the new emperor of Constantinople with whom, it appears, he established amicable relations. In the opinion of a large number of historians, Alexius and Vsevolod collaborated on the terms of Oleg's occupation of

⁵⁹ Cf. Golubovsky who argues, unconvincingly, that the Chernigovans and the citizens of Tmutarakan' probably paid a ransom for Oleg's release (*Istoriya Sever-skoy zemli*, p. 87).

⁶⁰ A. P. Kazhdan, "Vizantiyskiy podatnoy sborshchik na beregakh kimmeriyskogo bospora v kontse XII v.," *Problemy obshchestvenno-politicheskoy istorii Rossii i slavyanskikh stran* (M., 1963), p. 93.

Tmutarakan'.⁶¹ Although the chronicler does not explicitly say so, it appears that Oleg pledged to live in peace with his uncle. This is supported by the evidence that Oleg did not attack Vsevolod for the remainder of his life.

To judge from these observations and from the laconic entry reporting Oleg's seizure of Tmutarakan', he encountered no serious opposition. He took David and Volodar' captive but released them soon after. He undoubtedly sympathized with their plight. The two princes had been forced to flee from their domains owing to Vsevolod's overbearing measures and occupied Tmutarakan' out of desperation rather than out of animosity towards Oleg. In any case, they had seized it from Vsevolod and not from the Svyatoslavichi. Just like Oleg, they were the victims of Vsevolod's expansionism. Therefore, Oleg harboured no hatred towards them. As we shall see, there is even reason to believe that he named his second son Igor' after David's father.

Oleg probably received backing from the militia of Tmutarakan'. To judge from the available evidence, the townsmen preferred the Svyatoslavichi to the debarred princes. After the death of Rostislav (1066) the inhabitants sent Nikon "the Great," abbot of the local monastery, to supplicate Svyatoslav for his son Gleb whom Rostislav had evicted. They expressed no desire to be governed by Rostislav's heirs. Similarly, in 1083 the people of Tmutarakan' apparently preferred Oleg to Rostislav's son Volodar'. Indeed, as has been noted, they had already experienced Oleg's rule for the interim between Gleb's move to Novgorod and 1073, when Svyatoslav appointed Oleg to Vladimir. The length of Oleg's stay after 1083 also confirms the people's satisfaction with his administration. He remained as prince for over ten years and, when he finally left, it was of his own choosing.

After Oleg occupied Tmutarakan' he took punitive measures against the Khazars. He mercilessly slaughtered them because, he claimed, they instigated his brother's death as well as his own. Since they are identified as a tribal group this suggests that they also held some form of political status. They were not, as has been suggested, merely one of the peoples

⁶¹ See, for example, Likhachev, "Russko-vizantiyskie otnosheniya IX-XII vv.," p. 105; Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiyskikh otnosheniy*, p. 420; *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, p. 403. Cf. Hrushevsky who says Vsevolod was opposed to Oleg's return (*Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy*, vol. 2, p. 73, and Moshin, "Russkie na Afone," p. 82).

who lived in Tmutarakan'.⁶²

Oleg did not exact satisfaction from the Polovtsy. Similarly, he levied no accusation against Vsevolod. This can be explained in one of two ways: either Oleg held his uncle responsible for Roman's death but the chronicler failed to record it, or, Vsevolod was innocent and the culprits were the Khazars. The latter explanation, it would appear, is more plausible in the light of additional evidence. As noted above, Vsevolod made no attempt to challenge Oleg's return to Tmutarakan'. It was suggested that one reason for his compliance with the emperor's wish was that the two men agreed upon the terms of Oleg's reinstatement.

Even more important is the evidence which suggests that Vsevolod and Oleg themselves became reconciled around this time. Two facts in particular speak in support of this. The first is onomastic evidence. We have no chronicle information concerning the birth of Oleg's first son. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he was born around 1083 or 1084, that is, soon after Oleg and his wife arrived in Tmutarakan', around a year after their marriage.⁶³ Significantly, Oleg named him Vsevolod, presumably, in honour of his uncle.

This information is surprising. The selection of a name, especially for the eldest son who according to custom would become the head of the family after him, was undoubtedly made after serious deliberation. For example, Oleg's two younger brothers David and Yaroslav named their eldest sons Svyatoslav in honour of their father.⁶⁴ Oleg, on the contrary, named his firstborn after his uncle Vsevolod who not only deprived him of his patrimony but also helped to send him into exile. His decision leads to only one conclusion. The two princes were reconciled before the son was born, either while Oleg was still in exile or soon after he returned to Tmutarakan'.

If the two princes were reconciled, as we believe was the case, they must have either achieved their political objectives or, failing that, reached a compromise. Oleg's main objective was to regain possession of Chernigov, but we know Vsevolod refused to part with it. Therefore, we may assume the two reached a compromise and each prince made some conces-

⁶² See above, p. 156. As we shall see, they were probably the inhabitants of Khazaria.

⁶³ Cf. Zotov, p. 262 who makes the implausible suggestion that Vsevolod was born in 1094.

⁶⁴ Baum, IV, 7 and 16.

sion. As we shall see, Oleg agreed to acknowledge Vsevolod's control of Chernigov for the remainder of his life. However, it is more difficult to determine what the latter conceded to Oleg.

Granted, Vsevolod permitted Oleg's return to Tmutarakan' but in doing so he merely capitulated to the wishes of the Greeks rather than making a special concession to his nephew. Vsevolod's compliance with the emperor's policy was unlikely to evoke in Oleg the type of affection which prompted him to name his firstborn son Vsevolod. We must look for another concession which the uncle made to Oleg.

Vsevolod did perform a service which, although ignored by the chronicler, could be construed as a special favour to Oleg and all the Svyatoslavichi. Before his untimely death Svyatoslav began building a stone church in honour of SS. Boris and Gleb in Vyshgorod. The narrative account of SS. Boris and Gleb alone reports that Vsevolod, after becoming the prince of Kiev, completed the edifice on an unspecified date. However, the very night it was completed the roof fell in. Believing that by erecting the church he had fulfilled his obligation to God, Vsevolod made no effort to repair the damage.⁶⁵

This statement suggests that Vsevolod made a pledge to complete the church. He made the promise either to Svyatoslav before his death (1076) or to Oleg before they concluded their pact around 1083. If Svyatoslav received the oath from him then Oleg, on becoming the senior prince of the family, undoubtedly brought pressure to bear on Vsevolod to fulfil his obligation.⁶⁶

The fact remains that Vsevolod did complete the church. Assuming that his oath and Oleg's choice of name are related, it would appear that Vsevolod made his promise either while Oleg was still in exile or soon after he returned to Tmutarakan'. Given the great devotion the Svyatoslavichi demonstrated towards the martyrs, Oleg may well have made the completion of the church the condition on which he agreed to forfeit

⁶⁵ *Uspenskiy sbornik*, pp. 65-6; Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 356-7. Priselkov was of the opinion that Vsevolod finished the building between the years 1081 and 1088 (*Ocherki*, p. 232).

⁶⁶ The possibility that Oleg acted in this manner is suggested by the information that, at a later date, he and David pleaded with Izyaslav's son Svyatopolk and Vsevolod's son Monomakh to complete the church and to consecrate it (Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 357, 363-4, 365; see below, p. 276).

control of Chernigov during Vsevolod's reign.⁶⁷

As a result of the political reconciliation and Vsevolod's "favour" to the Svyatoslavichi, Oleg remained at peace with his uncle until the latter's death. The lack of any chronicle evidence concerning such conflicts as existed between the two princes before Oleg's deportation indicates that they lived at peace. In the light of Oleg's debt to the Greeks for reinstating him in Tmutarakan' it is difficult to determine what political obligations, if any, Oleg had to the prince of Kiev. However, it is unlikely that his duties were like those of the Izyaslavichi. Given the great distance that separated Rus' from Tmutarakan', Oleg was evidently never called upon to assist Vsevolod in campaigns.⁶⁸ Moreover, his presence in Tmutarakan' was demanded by the Greeks since it was his duty to protect their interests in that region. Therefore, it appears that Oleg's relation to his uncle was more like that of a foreign ruler than a vassal.

As senior prince Oleg would have under normal circumstances exercised considerable moral authority over his brothers. However, during this period of the Svyatoslavichi "diaspora," communication between him and his brothers was probably sporadic at best. Yaroslav, as we have seen, accompanied his mother to Saxony and remained there for an unspecified period. The whereabouts of David during Oleg's stay in Tmutarakan' is just as uncertain. After Oleg was sent into exile Vsevolod made it difficult for debarred princes like David Igorevich and Volodar' to find domains; we may assume that he treated Oleg's brother in a similar manner. Therefore, it is unlikely that he gave David an important town like, for example, Smolensk. However, it is reasonable to assume that he allowed the Svyatoslavich to remain in Murom where he may already have been prince. The town, in fact, fell under Oleg's jurisdiction owing to his seniority in the Svyatoslavichi family.

There is some evidence, albeit ever so slight, to suggest that Oleg controlled Murom while he was prince of Tmutarakan'. Archaeologists have discovered the remains of the fortified site called Ol'gov gorodok

⁶⁷ Dimnik, "Oleg Svyatoslavich," pp. 355-9. It is noteworthy that Oleg's brother David named his third son Vsevolod. The date of his birth is unknown, but, to judge from his name, he was probably born after Vsevolod's "favour" to the Svyatoslavichi and that David, like Oleg, named him Vsevolod out of gratitude to his uncle.

⁶⁸ Cf. s.a. 1088, Tat. 2, p. 96 who alone reports that Oleg and David helped Vsevolod against the Poles.

(Novyy Ol'gov gorodok) located at the confluence of the rivers Oka and Pronya some four miles from Ryazan' (present-day Staraya Ryazan'). Investigators identify the settlement with Oleg and suggest that he used it for controlling commerce on the river, for collecting tribute, and for defending the territory. Whether he placed Ol'gov gorodok and the Murom region into the hands of a *posadnik* or gave them to David is unknown.⁶⁹

The PVL also tells us nothing concerning Oleg's relations with the debarred princes of Rus'. However, it is to his credit that he remained loyal to his uncle even though they challenged Vsevolod's allocation of domains.⁷⁰ Oleg could have taken advantage of their complaints to renew his own bid for Chernigov. His restraint supports our contention that he and Vsevolod reached a *modus vivendi*.

Little is known about the organization of the Church in Tmutarakan' during Oleg's reign. It appears that either at the end of the ninth or at the beginning of the tenth century the eparchy of the neighbouring region of Zichia, located at Nikopsis, was transferred to Tmutarakan'. However, a change occurred soon after Oleg arrived, that is, after Alexius I Comnenus assumed power. Between the years 1084 and 1095 the original eparchy of Zichia was evidently moved back to Nikopsis and a special archbishopric was established in Tmutarakan'. This situation existed for only a short period. Soon after the see of Tmutarakan' was closed and annexed to the archbishopric of Zichia.⁷¹ It is impossible to know whether the ecclesiastical changes in Tmutarakan' were introduced to reflect the new political arrangement which existed under Oleg. However, as the archbishopric of Tmutarakan' was closed soon after it was created, perhaps its closing was associated with Oleg's departure. We do not know.

It has already been noted that Tmutarakan' had at least one Slavic bishop in the eleventh century. He was Bishop Nicholas (Nikola) but we know little more than his name. Evidently, the "bishop of Tmutarakan'" participated in an exorcism ceremony at the Caves Monastery when Nikon

⁶⁹ A. L. Mongayt, "Staraya Ryazan'," *Voprosy istorii*, 4 (1947), pp. 92-3, and his *Ryazanskaya zemlya*, pp. 335-6; Nasonov, "Russkaya zemlya," p. 207.

⁷⁰ In 1084 two unidentified Rostislavichi seized Vladimir from Yaropolk, the son of Izyaslav (Ipat., col. 196; Lav., col. 205). The following year, Yaropolk himself plotted against Vsevolod, but Monomakh quelled the revolt (Ipat., col. 197; Lav., col. 205).

⁷¹ Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," pp. 51-4, 58.

"the Great" was abbot. The event probably occurred in 1078 during Nikon's first year in office, but before Nicholas was made bishop.⁷²

In the light of this information, and given that a new archbishopric was established in Tmutarakan' in the early 1080s, it is tempting to assume that Nicholas was the Slavic bishop of Tmutarakan' during Oleg's reign. It also appears that he was the only one. Although we do not know the duration of his term of office, in the twelfth century the archbishopric of Tmutarakan' is no longer identified separately from that of Zichia. Evidently, following Nicholas' death or after his transfer, the eparchy was annexed to that of Zichia.⁷³

There is evidence that Oleg not only propagated the religious tradition of Rus' in general, but also the cult of SS. Boris and Gleb in particular. This is suggested by the existence of a monastery and a church dedicated to them near Tmutarakan' and evidently founded during Oleg's rule in the district.⁷⁴ In general, it appears that for some ten years after his return from exile Oleg resigned himself to living a politically unassuming "provincial" life, as it were. However the exact boundaries of his domain are nowhere defined.

There is sphragistic evidence, albeit disputed, which provides information concerning the extent of Oleg's jurisdiction. A seal attributed to him has the following inscription: "O Lord, help Michael, the *archon* of Matrachia, Zichia, and of all Khazaria." Matrachia is the Greek designation for Tmutarakan'. There is strong evidence to suggest that the territories of Tmutarakan' incorporated a portion of the western side of the Straits of Kerch', including Bosphorus (Cimmerian Bosphorus), Korchev (present-day Kerch') and its environs.⁷⁵ On the eastern side of the Straits, the

⁷² *Paterik Pecherskyi*, pp. 102-3, 126; Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," pp. 49, 56-7; see also *Slovar' knizhnikov i knizhnosti Drevney Rusi*, vyp. I (Xl-pervaya polovina XIV v.), gen. ed. D. S. Likhachev (L., 1987), pp. 279-81.

⁷³ Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," p. 61. Cf. Priselkov who suggests that Oleg probably demanded the establishment of a bishopric as one of the conditions of his return to Tmutarakan' (*Ocherki*, pp. 152-3).

⁷⁴ See Appendix 1.

⁷⁵ Under the year 1068 we are told that Gleb measured the distance between Tmutarakan' and Korchev. One of the seals attributed to Ratibor was found near Kerch'. A silver coin of Oleg-Mikhail was discovered in a grave dating from the end of the eleventh century next to a medieval church in Korchev (V. V. Kropotkin and T. I. Makarova, "Nakhodka monety Olega-Mikhaila v Korcheve," *Sovetskaya arkhologiya*, no. 2 [1973], pp. 250-1, 254). See also D. I. Ilovaysky, "Neskol'ko

principality extended to the Kuban' river, or so Constantine Porphyrogenitus tells us. He writes:

opposite to Bosphorus is the city called Tamatarcha [Tmutarakan']; the width of the strait of this mouth is 18 miles.... After Tamatarcha, some 18 or 20 miles from it, is a river called Oukrouch [Kuban'], which divides Zichia and Tamatarcha.⁷⁶

This information indicates that the principality of Tmutarakan' proper on the eastern coast of the Straits constituted the territory of the Taman' peninsula as far as the two estuaries of the Kuban' river.

Accordingly, Zichia, the second territory allegedly under Oleg's purview, lay on the Black Sea immediately to the east of Tmutarakan' to the south of the Kuban' river. The emperor describes it as follows:

from the Oukrouch to the Nikopsis river, on which stands a city with the same name as the river, is the country of Zichia; the distance is 300 miles. Off the seaboard of Zichia lie islands, the great island and the three islands; and, closer to shore than these, are yet other islands, which have been used for pasturage and built upon by the Zichians, Tourganirch and Tzarbagandin and another island; and in the harbour of Spalaton another island; and at Pteleai another, where the Zichians take refuge during Alan incursions. The coastal area from the limit of Zichia, that is, from the Nikopsis river, is the country of Abasgia.⁷⁷

The emperor described Zichia as it was in his time during the tenth century. We may assume that the territory was more or less the same during Oleg's reign. However, it is impossible to say how complete his control over it was, or what tribes paid him tribute.⁷⁸

soobrazheniy o pamyatnikakh tmutrakanskoy rusi i tmutrakanskom balvane," *Istoricheskiya Sochineniya D. I. Ilovayskogo*, (M., 1897), p. 21; Yakobson, *Srednevekovyy Krym*, pp. 77, 78; Medyntseva, *Tmutarakanskiy kamen'*, p. 15, and others.

⁷⁶ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 186-9; Moshin, "Nikolay, Episkop Tmutorokanskiy," p. 48.

⁷⁷ *Constantine Porphyrogenitus De Administrando Imperio*, pp. 186-9; Soloviev, "Domination Byzantine ou Russe au Nord de la Mer Noire," p. 573.

⁷⁸ Mongayt, "O granitsakh Tmutarakanskogo knyazhestva v XI v.," p. 59.

people were united. The following morning the prince concluded peace and thereby saved the Holy Crown to Poland. For reasons that remain unexplained the king renounced. The night of 1 September 1399, Porymbek went up to flames, but we are told, "we were not very old." During the wedding ceremony the wedding gift was him to which the unfortunate candidate he was offered, and the king of Poland and saved his throne. Porymbek then addressed Volodya in the following manner:

"You see how I have not yet saved the Holy Crown and God placed you in my hands when you promised not to let it be taken. And I wished to inform you that you could have done so at my pleasure. So tomorrow you have saved the Holy Crown to me. It was made by God, will be well, and if you fall or die, God will be our judge. Then Porymbek kissed the Holy Crown and having exchanged peace, returned to Kiev."⁸⁶

Porymbek's refusal to take advantage of his opponent's plight, however, is more indicative of securing a resolution than of obliging his lord's desire.⁸⁷ His hesitation was not demonstrated by him not as careless as some sources would have us believe. Indeed, his character is a clear witness that Porymbek refused to attack his lord or God in any way. In fact, he wished that he would be able to shield Christian blood necessary. After the fire during the battle ended not in capitulation, with his submission Porymbek achieved his purpose. Indeed, he negotiated the political demands of the Prince of Moldavia which, from geographical considerations, could pose a serious threat to his authority because it was adjacent to the known land itself.

While Porymbek and his relatives were attending Porymbek, the prince of Moldavia was again married, again, to Volodya. On this occasion Ivan and Volodymyr's marriage was able to conclude an agreement. The prince had some misgivings and no settlement was reached, either he left them laymen and his sons invaded the lands of his uncle, Porymbek. This information is striking, as we have seen, at that Porymbek had intended to embrace some form of pacifism. Perhaps the

⁸⁶ Jan, op. cit., 332, 333, 336.

⁸⁷ *Historical Sketch*, p. 128.

